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## Reagan Approves Campaign Committee

By David Hoffman

Washington Post Service

LOS ANGELES — President Ronald Reagan has given his approval to the formation of a re-election committee to plan his campaign for a second term, according to White House officials, who said it is the most significant indication yet that he will run again in 1984.

In recent discussions with Republican Party strategists, according to one administration source, Mr. Reagan raised no objection to formation of the committee as long as he would not have to give it his official blessing until after his scheduled trip to Asia in November.

"The decision has basically been made" for Mr. Reagan to seek re-election, said one official. Another official said that if Mr. Reagan is planning to retire he has not told even his closest assistants, all of whom now believe he will run.

Even after the re-election committee is created, however, Mr. Reagan would still have the option to pull out if he wanted to.

The committee, which would open offices in Washington after Oct. 15, is to be run by Edward J. Rollins, the White House political affairs director, with help from his deputy, Lee Atwater. Mr. Rollins also is to be assisted by Charles Black, a Republican political consultant. James Lake, who was press secretary at the beginning of Mr. Reagan's 1980 presidential campaign, will do the same job for the 1984 re-election committee.

After the committee opens its doors, officials said, Mr. Rollins' White House political affairs office will be closed.

One Republican strategist familiar with the White House plans said Mr. Reagan has talked with aides about the re-election committee's timetable, which is important because of the president's Asia trip. If the re-election committee is formed on Oct. 15, Mr. Reagan would have 15 days under U.S. election law to give it his blessing or disassociate himself from it.

That would mean he would become a candidate by Nov. 1, or just before he departs on the Asian trip. According to White House officials, the president has expressed opposition to becoming a candidate before he returns from the trip the third week of November.

Mr. Reagan's political advisers are operating on the assumption that he will formally announce his candidacy at the latest possible moment, perhaps in December. In 1980, Mr. Reagan was the last of the Republican candidates to make a formal announcement.

According to administration officials, key decisions about Mr. Reagan's re-election campaign already have been made in some large states. For example, Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, Republican of New York, has been selected as chairman of the Reagan campaign in his state.

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Mourners surrounded the hearse carrying the body of Benigno S. Aquino Jr.

## Huge Crowd Joins Procession for Aquino



Supporters of the assassinated Filipino opposition leader reach out to his brother, Agapito Aquino, inside the church in Manila where a requiem Mass was said. Agapito Aquino, a businessman in Manila, was greeted by cheers as he led the procession for his brother.

## U.S. Distances Itself From Marcos, Saying Ties Extend Beyond Regime

By Bernard Gwertzman

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration has begun putting distance between itself and the government of President Ferdinand E. Marcos in the event that the Philippine leader or his top associates are found responsible for the assassination of Benigno S. Aquino Jr., administration officials say.

Officials said Wednesday that it was essential for Americans to recognize that U.S. ties with the Philippines went beyond relations with the Marcos government and have strategic and historic importance for the United States and its allies that must not be destroyed over the killing of Mr. Aquino on Sunday.

Officials said that whatever the role of the Philippine authorities in the killing, the United States had to try to ensure that it retained air and naval bases in the Philippines and that the government was not overthrown by Communists.

The Reagan administration is prepared, officials said, to take whatever steps were needed to demonstrate its outrage at the assassination if the Marcos regime was found responsible for the killing, a senior State Department official said.

But the official said that such moves as the possible cancellation

of a trip by President Ronald Reagan to the Philippines in November must not be allowed to undercut the long-term importance of relations between the two countries.

Publicly and privately, administration officials have been pressing Mr. Marcos to hold an impartial and objective inquiry.

But U.S. officials said Wednesday that if the Marcos government were itself involved in the killing they did not expect to get an honest report, given the tight control that Mr. Marcos holds over political life in the Philippines.

The Reagan administration has not accused anyone of responsibility for the assassination, but it has also not endorsed Mr. Marcos' protestations of having had nothing to do with it.

Representative Stephen J. Solarz, Democrat of New York, had urged the administration to send Vice President George Bush or Secretary of State George P. Shultz to Mr. Aquino's funeral Thursday.

However, the State Department said Wednesday that the administration would be represented only by Ambassador Michael H. Armacost. An official said any higher representation would be "unprecedented" and draw more attention to the United States than to Mr. Aquino.

## Mitterrand Emphasizes Firm Posture in Chad

By John Darnton

New York Times Service

PARIS — President Francois Mitterrand said Thursday that French troops were sent to Chad to "bring peace," but he also warned that, if they were threatened by Libyan-backed rebels, they could go on the offensive.

The president's statements, his first full exposition of policy since fighting flared in the Central African state two months ago, appeared as a question-and-answer interview in the newspaper Le Monde. The questions were not submitted in advance, but the text was reviewed by the president before its publication Thursday afternoon.

The interview came amid a growing public debate over France's military buildup in Chad, which is rapidly becoming larger than any in Africa since the Algerian war two decades ago, and amid diplomatic initiatives by Paris to avoid a clash with Libya.

The president emphasized the need for a negotiated solution among the Chadian antagonists themselves, sought to justify both the timing and the rationale behind the French deployment, and seemed to want to put to rest a diplomatic dispute with the United States over the sending of American AWACS surveillance aircraft to Sudan, which borders on Chad.

Asserting that France's role was to safeguard Chad's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, he ruled out eventual partition of the country, a situation that now exists on the battlefield.

But in a single remark that could be construed as a significant hint of a possible negotiating objective, he observed that "federation often conforms more to reality than a formal unity that is always broken."

The idea of a federation between the desert, Moslem north and the somewhat more productive, Christian and animist south, has sometimes been broached during 17 years of intermittent civil war. But it is anathema to the government headed by Hissene Habre, himself a northerner.

The thrust of Mr. Mitterrand's remarks appeared directed toward the Libyan regime of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, which is sustaining the rebel led by Goukouni Oueddei, the former president of Chad.

It was a carefully worded message, balanced between prudence and firmness. President Mitterrand recalled Libya's concern for a secure southern boundary, but he spoke in no uncertain terms of "Libyan aggression," which he said was what triggered the French intervention. He made it clear that France would not tolerate any attempt by the anti-Habre forces to move beyond their northern stronghold.

"If threatened, our troops will

riposte and in order to defend themselves better, they will not limit their response to defensive measures alone," he said.

He noted pointedly that French troops, which have been estimated to number some 3,000 and are backed up by eight warplanes stationed in the capital of Njamena, are now in a position to be able to react "militarily and quickly to a new offensive."

His warning came amid reports from Chadian officials, who have been pressuring France to deepen its commitment and perhaps engage in a counteroffensive, that Libyan tanks have been moving southward from Faya-Largeau, the northern oasis town seized by the rebels more than two weeks ago.

Any prospect that the French would help the Habre forces retake the north was by implication rejected by Mr. Mitterrand. "Our troops cannot be regarded as an additional force submitted to a strategy in whose determination they have not

taken part," he said. "France will not allow itself to be led where it does not want to go."

In discussing the need for talks involving both Mr. Goukouni and Mr. Habre, an idea that both Chadian leaders have turned their backs upon, President Mitterrand noted that it was time for a "deep conversation" with Mr. Habre.

As the interview appeared, it was announced that the French Defense Minister, Charles Hernu, was en route in Chad "to inspect the French forces." But observers thought it highly likely that Mr. Hernu would meet with Mr. Habre to impress upon him the deterrent intent behind the French military presence and the urgency of coming to the negotiating table.

The French press has carried recent reports, which the government refuses to comment upon, that a special presidential envoy, Roland Dumas, may be on his way to Tripoli. Mr. Dumas visited the Libyan

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Exiled Writer Vladimov Loses Soviet Citizenship

By Serge Schmemmann

New York Times Service

MOSCOW — The Soviet government Thursday stripped Georgi N. Vladimov, the dissident writer who left for the West under pressure in May, of his citizenship for "systematically engaging in activities hostile to the U.S.S.R."

The decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Communist Party-controlled legislature, was published Thursday in the official gazette and dated July 1, just more than a month after Mr. Vladimov, his wife Natalia Kuznetsova and her mother left the Soviet Union for West Germany.

Like other exiled Soviet writers, Mr. Vladimov left on a temporary visa, aware that his citizenship might be lifted.

Hours after hearing that he had lost his citizenship, The Associated Press reported Thursday from Frankfurt, Mr. Vladimov said: "The Soviet Union wants to get rid of people who think differently. I am sorry not so much for myself but also for my country."

The decree, signed by Yuri V. Andropov in his capacity as president of the Presidium, cited a law prescribing loss of citizenship for actions that "defamed the high calling of a citizen of the U.S.S.R."

It did not include Mr. Vladimov's wife and mother-in-law.

Mr. Vladimov, 52, was a sanctioned Soviet writer until his works became too critical for Soviet tastes. His most acclaimed novel, "Faithful Russian," never published in the Soviet Union, was

an indictment of the Stalinist labor camp system.

In 1977, Mr. Vladimov quit the official writers union to protest treatment of his colleagues and of himself. He subsequently accepted the chairmanship of the Moscow chapter of Amnesty International, the human rights organization.

His defense of repressed writers and other dissidents increasingly drew the wrath of the authorities.

In January, he wrote a personal appeal to Mr. Andropov asking to emigrate after the KGB security police had searched his apartment and threatened to prosecute him for anti-state activities.



Georgi N. Vladimov



MOSCOW CEREMONY — Agriculture Secretary John R. Block of the United States and Foreign Trade Minister Nikolai S. Patolichev of the Soviet Union during the signing of a five-year agreement under which Russia will buy U.S. grain. Page 5.

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## Europe Debates 'Better-Than-Nothing' Programs to Cut Unemployment

By Bob Hagerty

International Herald Tribune

COVENTRY, England — Karen Checkley grew up wanting to be an actress. When she left school last year at age 16, however, Miss Checkley found out there were not many roles available — in any line of work — and wound up on unemployment. She repainted her parents' house; she wore out her dog with endless walks through this central England city of soaring churches and rotting factories.

"You feel so useless," she said. After five months, Miss Checkley got her break. GEC Telecommunications took her on as a part-time secretary under a "work-sharing" program at the company's Spon Street works, where brick walls, barbed wire and a "No Vacancies" sign at the gate make any job seem like a privilege.

"I couldn't stick this forever," Miss Checkley said firmly. Still, she allows, it beats unemployment.

Across Europe, economists and politicians are debating the merits of such better-than-nothing solutions for the jobless. The question is whether a worthwhile number of jobs can be saved or created by "reorganizing" working time — reducing the workweek, extending holidays, encouraging early retirement, making part-time work more acceptable and otherwise shrinking the supply of labor.

Such measures are taking hold slowly; unions resist pay cuts and employers say they cannot bear higher costs. But compromises achieved in several countries over the past year offer some hope.

The debate is gaining urgency as European economies continue to show only a feeble recovery from recession, despite a burst of growth in the United States. Economists of every stripe say unemployment in the European Community, currently at about 11.6 million, or 10.3 percent, may well rise further this year and next.

Ivor Richard, the EC employment and social affairs commissioner, is seeking EC approval for recommendations on how to create jobs through reorganization of working patterns. European governments are heading the call with varying degrees of fervor.

France has gone in for heavy intervention. In January 1982, the government decreed a one-hour cut in the workweek to 39 hours. Whatever its social benefits, that measure appears to have had little effect on job creation. In France, as in most of Europe, technological advances and ample staffing leave plenty of room for trimming hours without hiring more workers.

But the French can claim more success from other programs. Under "solidarity contracts," the government offers generous pensions to workers who retire early to make way for younger workers. Companies that create jobs by reducing average working hours are eligible for lower social security costs. France has said that such measures have created or saved more than 330,000 jobs.

Partly as a result, the government has been able to prevent unemployment from rising above 9 percent for the past year. As austerity measures begin to bite, however, the figure is widely expected to start climbing.

Even before the government began offering incentives, BSN, a French food and beverage group, was negotiating means of saving jobs. A January 1982 agreement with unions paved the way, and the company now says about two-thirds of its 28,000 workers in France are working 35 to 38 hours a week.

The showcase for BSN's program is a bottling plant in Reims, where workers accepted five daily shifts instead of four and reduced the workweek to 33.5 hours. Pay was cut just 1 percent, but the company won concessions on scheduling that allowed it to use its machinery almost continuously, helping to produce a 7-percent rise in productivity. BSN says it has saved 300 to 400 jobs at the plant without adding to costs.

"Merely reducing the working week... is not going to do it," says a BSN spokesman. "It's about saving jobs."

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)



## Phalangists Offer Withdrawal As Concession to Druze Foes

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIRUT — The Phalangist Party announced Thursday that its militia would pull out of the embattled central mountains once the Lebanese Army moved in to replace Israeli forces, which will be pulling back. The decision appeared to be a concession to demands by the Christians' Druze opponents.

Pierre Gemayel, founder of the Phalangist Party and father of President Amin Gemayel, said: "With the presence of state author-

ity there will be no need or justification for barracks and various military manifestations to remain." But he added that the party and its militia would "spare no effort to help the Lebanese government fill the security vacuum in the mountains."

In a radio and television address Thursday, President Gemayel said the anticipated Israeli pullback from the Chuf and Aley mountains would present his people with the "most dangerous challenge in the series of challenges we have been

facing." He said, "The army will enter the Chuf with the people and not against the people, because it is the only alternative to the armies of division." But Mr. Gemayel gave no indication he was close to agreement with Walid Jumblat, the Druze leader.

There were these other developments Thursday:

• In Jerusalem, a spokesman for Prime Minister Menachem Begin said that Israel wanted to complete its troop redeployment by Sept. 7 but was willing to consider a brief postponement. A senior Israeli official added that the postponement would be considered if the special U.S. envoy to the Middle East, Robert C. McFarlane, appeared to be working out a final agreement between the Beirut government and the Druze on deploying the Lebanese Army in the mountains.

• In West Beirut, an explosion at a building housing French peacekeeping forces killed at least one soldier and wounded eight, a spokesman for the French force said. He said that a fire of unknown origin had caused a crate of ammunition that was being loaded on a truck to explode.

The Druze and Christians have been continuing their old battle with sporadic artillery exchanges in the Aley and Chuf mountains overlooking the capital.

The Israelis, who moved into the central mountains after they invaded Lebanon last year, are to pull back to help reduce their own casualties and to take a more secure position south of the Aali River. A Western diplomat said the pullout of Israeli troops from the Chuf mountains and the Beirut area could be completed over the weekend.

The Druze object to the entry of the Lebanese Army, because they maintain that it is biased in favor of the Phalangist Lebanese Forces militia. They have demanded that all Christian militiamen who entered the Aley and Chuf regions after last year's invasion withdraw unconditionally before the army's deployment in the two areas.

The police reported intermittent shelling between Druze and Christian militiamen northeast of Beirut for a second consecutive day but said a cease-fire proclaimed Monday was holding elsewhere in the mountains.

The Lebanese government was reported to have formally asked the United Nations to provide the 3,400-man multinational peacekeeping force to support the planned deployment of the army in the mountains. The independent Beirut newspaper an-Nahar said Defense Minister Issam Kharbi made the request through the Foreign Ministry to the governments of the United States, France, Italy and Britain.

An-Nahar said the Gemayel government had named Brigadier General Mahmoud Abu Dergham, a Druze, as commander of the army force assigned to the central mountains. Colonel Rashid Samra, a Christian, was named deputy commander of the force, which according to an-Nahar consists of 8,000 to 11,000 men.

In an interview published in Damascus by al-Bath, the newspaper of President Hafez al-Assad's ruling Ba'ath Party, Mr. Jumblat charged that the Gemayel government planned to use the army to suppress Phalangist militiamen against the Druze.

## Procession For Aquino

(Continued from Page 1)

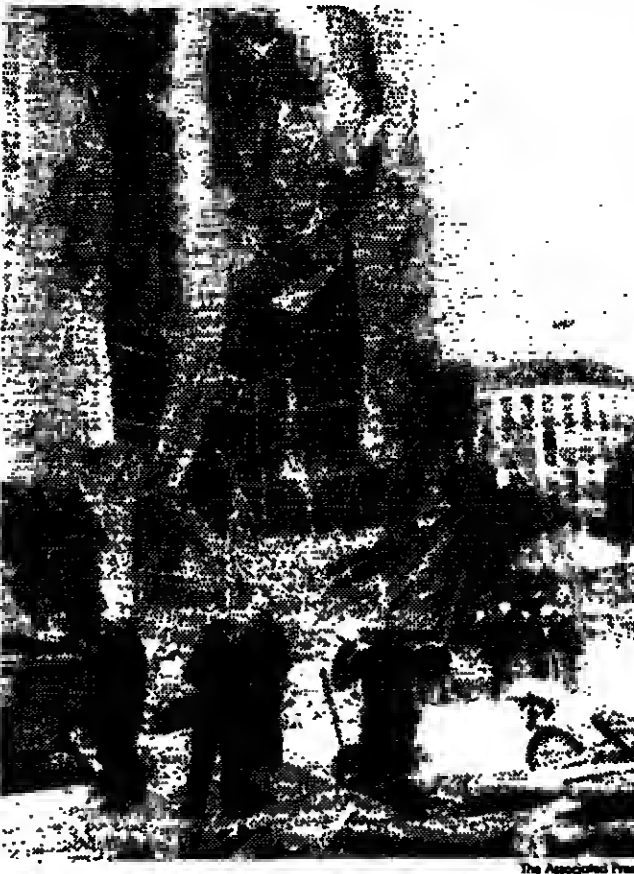
assassination. Saying she did not want to accuse anyone, she said Wednesday, "I would like the government to answer certain questions which puzzle me."

At another news conference Thursday, Mrs. Aquino referred to a newspaper report that Mr. Marcos had sent her his condolences. She said if he was sincere, he could express his condolences by freeing all political prisoners.

■ **Brother Leads Procession**  
William Chapman of The Washington Post reported:

Out in front of the procession for Mr. Aquino, making his first political bows and testing the sort of phrases that politicians use here, was Mr. Aquino's younger brother, Agapito.

Admirers surged around him and the procession slowed as he shook hands and clattered. He exclaimed: "This shows us that we must fight for the ideals that my brother died for."



Firemen searched for victims after the explosion Thursday demolished part of the Maison de France in West Berlin.

## French Offices Wrecked In West Berlin Bombing

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BERLIN — A bomb, thought to have been set by Armenian terrorists, exploded Thursday in the French Consulate and cultural center in West Berlin. A West German peace activist was killed and 23 persons were injured, four of them seriously, the police said.

A person claiming to represent the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia said the group carried out the attack, the organization's third since July, in a telephone call to the West Berlin office of the French news agency, Agence France-Press.

An anonymous call to United Press International in London said the "Only Armenian Revolutionary Organization" was responsible for the attack in West Berlin and for other attacks on French targets in Beirut.

"We will continue our struggle until the liberation of innocent Armenians from French jails," the caller said.

In Paris, the Foreign Ministry branded the attack an "odious crime" that "dishonors" the Armenian cause. "The location in the heart of the city, the time chosen, show the deliberate attempt by the perpetrators of this act to strike blindly at the greatest number of persons," a statement said.

The explosion at the Maison de France building on West Berlin's bustling Kurfürstendamm, the main street, demolished the top two floors, sending most of the front wall, roof and scaffolding

crashing to the ground and scattering broken glass and plaster. A 26-year-old man was killed in the explosion, the police said. Friends of the victim, identified only as Michael H., said he belonged to a group of peace activists, several of whom were injured, who were inside the consulate distributing leaflets protesting French nuclear tests in the Pacific.

A police spokesman said a 52-year-old West German man, who had been thought killed, was still alive in the hospital, suffering from severe head wounds. A spokesman for the French military government of the city said a consulate employee was slightly injured.

According to the police, many of the injured were laborers engaged in reconstruction work on the building. Others wounded included French language students.

The Armenian group, which says it is avenging the 1915 massacre of 1.5 million Armenians in Turkey, said it carried out the July 14 assassination of a Turkish embassy attaché in Brussels and the July 15 bombing of a Turkish Airlines jet at Orly Airport in Paris in which seven persons were killed and 55 were injured.

France pressed an investigation of the airport blast and detained dozens of Armenians, prompting threats of retaliation. In Paris, the National Armenian Movement condemned the West Berlin attack. The French-based group said it broke with ASALA's policies in January because of its use of violence.

## Mitterrand Asserts a Firm Posture in Chad

(Continued from Page 1)

capital 11 days ago for talks with Colonel Qadhafi.

Mr. Mitterrand insisted that it was the presence of the French forces, who arrived after Faysa-Lagard fell, that had brought about a halt to the fighting. The lull has now lasted 12 days. He devoted considerable attention to fending off domestic criticism, raised by the opposition center and right parties, that he had not acted soon enough.

He did not, he said, believe in fighting a "preventive war" or an "automatic war" at the first sighting of a Libyan soldier or a Libyan plane. There had to be clear-cut evidence of external aggression so that countries of the world could see that "the will for war and domination was that of Libya and not of France."

He also argued that the delay made military sense, allowing the French to deploy their forces in a defensible position and with adequate supply lines.

Mr. Mitterrand, who had criticized intervention by previous governments and told African leaders in May 1982 that France would no longer play the role of "a gendarme" in Africa, insisted that the deployment was not "neocolonialist."

Rather it was a question of coming to the aid of a menaced and long-standing ally, a former colony. He conceded that the 1976 defense agreement with Chad, providing mainly for instruction and logistical support, was being stretched if interpreted strictly.

Turning to the diplomatic dispute with Washington over his claims that the Americans were applying undue pressure to intervene

and had dispatched the AWACS planes without informing France, the president repeated his assertion that France had not asked for the planes. He said that there had been general talks on Chad — the Americans were "very concerned" with us, he said — and he confirmed reports that he had met with Vernon A. Walters, former deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

■ **Chad Dismiss Reported**  
Informed sources told Reuters in Nijmegen that Mr. Mitterrand's apparent backing for the creation of a federation in Chad to resolve the long-running civil conflict has dismayed senior officials in President Habré's administration.

But the government of Chad said it would closely study today's detailed explanation.

World Economics, foresees "a very hot negotiating round."

Although devoted to free-market solutions, the British government is experimenting with various programs that it claims are keeping about 330,000 people off jobless benefits. A newly revamped training plan is designed to find a temporary place for every 16-year-old who quits school and cannot find a job. Also, Britain is encouraging early retirement and paying temporary subsidies to unemployed people who set up their own businesses.

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Rüdiger Soltwedel, a labor economist at the Kiel Institute of

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Israel, Liberia Sign Cooperation Pact

JERUSALEM (Reuters) — Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel and President Samuel K. Doe of Liberia signed a cooperation agreement Thursday and Liberia announced it would establish its embassy in Jerusalem. Israeli officials said.

Under the agreement, Israel will offer the Liberians agricultural aid and help them to establish a merchant navy and a national airline and to modernize their road system. Israeli experts in these fields are to leave for Liberia next month, the officials said.

Liberia's decision to situate its embassy in Jerusalem brings the number of embassies there to three. El Salvador recently decided to transfer its embassy from Tel Aviv. Most countries do not recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital and have denounced the unilateral annexation of the eastern part of the city, captured from Jordan in 1967. Liberia renewed diplomatic relations with Israel earlier this month, after a 10-year break.

### Mexicans Said to Down Cargo Planes

LAREDO, Texas (AP) — Two cargo planes flying electronics equipment from Texas into Mexico were shot down earlier this month by Mexican customs officials who had received tips from the U.S. Customs Service, according to two newspapers here. Neither pilot was injured, but both planes were destroyed.

The Mexican government has strict laws against importing sophisticated electronic gear. It is trying to encourage Mexican industry to produce such goods and Mexican consumers to buy them.

Charles W. Conroy, regional public affairs officer for the Customs Service in Houston, said his agency was operating under a long-established agreement when it furnished information about the two planes to Mexican customs officials. The Laredo Morning Times and The Laredo News reported in separate stories.

### 500 Uruguayan Protesters Arrested

MONTEVIDEO (UPI) — The Uruguayan police arrested about 500 people, including nuns and children, in demonstrations outside a building where three religious leaders are nearing the end of a two-week hunger strike to press for an end to military rule.

About 200 riot policemen and 50 police vehicles converged on the building Wednesday night in what observers said was the largest arrest operation in 10 years of military government. Hundreds of people had approached the building in what was apparently a pre-planned protest.

Two priests, Luis Pérez Aguirre and Jorge Osorio, and a Methodist minister, Ademar Olivera, appeared at the window of the headquarters of the Service for Peace and Justice and waved to supporters below. The organization, Uruguay's only human rights group, is coordinated by the Argentine humanitarian, Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, winner of the 1980 Nobel Prize for Peace.

### 2 Protestants Are Arrested in Ulster

BELFAST (AP) — Andy Tyrre and John McMichael, leaders of the Ulster Defense Association, a militant Protestant group, were arrested Thursday, the police reported.

Mr. Tyrre, 42, calls himself the supreme commander of the Ulster Defense Association and Mr. McMichael, 35, is chairman of the group's political wing. A police spokesman said they were taken to an interrogation center under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. They can be held for seven days without charge.

Hours after the arrests, traffic in central Belfast was disrupted by a series of bomb alerts. A police spokesman said all proved to be hoaxes. Officials of the Ulster Defense Association, which is the largest of Northern Ireland's Protestant paramilitary groups, denied responsibility.

### U.S. Phone Workers Stay on Strike

WASHINGTON (AP) — The head of the Communications Workers of America said Thursday the union's members would remain on strike until they got satisfactory contracts with subsidiaries of American Telephone & Telegraph Co.

Glenn E. Watts, president of the union, said members would not return to their jobs Thursday, as had been expected Sunday, when the union's leadership tentatively accepted a national three-year pact with AT&T.

But Mr. Watts and other leaders said at the time that the strike would be ended only when the union concluded 34 local contracts to coordinate with the national accord. The Communications Workers of America represents 525,000 of the 675,000 workers who struck AT&T on Aug. 7.

### SWAPO Leader Claims Wider Control

ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia (Combined Dispatches) — Sam Nujoma, leader of the guerrilla movement fighting to get South Africa out of Namibia, claimed Thursday that his forces now control large sections in the north and east of the disputed territory.

In an interview with the Pan-African News Agency, Mr. Nujoma said many important sections of Namibia, also known as South-West Africa, are now accessible to South African troops by air.

Mr. Nujoma, president of the South-West African Peoples Organization, spoke at the United Nations secretary-general, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, completed a visit to northern Namibia's war zone and flew back to Windhoek for talks about independence with the parties of the territory.

### Speakes's Bunny Story Lays an Egg

WASHINGTON (AP) — Barbara Honegger, who quit the Reagan administration because of its record on women's rights, says the White House is trying to get even by putting out a false story that she wore an Easter Bunny outfit to a White House egg roll.

Larry M. Speakes, President Ronald Reagan's chief spokesman, told the White House counterattack on Miss Honegger on Wednesday, sarcastically suggesting that the bunny role was her most important achievement in the administration. "I can't believe this," said Miss Honegger, who held a \$37,000-a-year job in the Justice Department. "Do you think they'd try to do this to a man?" She denied ever having been to the annual White House event.

[At the time of the egg roll, The Washington Post reported that the role of the bunny was played by Ursula Meese, the wife of Edwin Meese 3d, one of the president's top advisers.]

### For the Record

MADRID (AP) — Isabel Perón, the former president of Argentina, plans to return on Sept. 2 to Buenos Aires from self-exile and to address the Peronist Party congress, which will be picking a presidential candidate, the Madrid newspaper El País said Thursday.

## Europe Debates 'Better-Than-Nothing' Plans for Unemployed

(Continued from Page 1)

to do that much," said Michael Gold, an analyst at Incomes Data Services of London who sees BSN's program as a model. "By reorganizing working time, not just reducing it, they were able to create new jobs."

Ambitious job-creation measures are not only a product of left-of-center governments such as that of France.

Belgium's center-right coalition government has prodded most companies to reduce average working time by up to 5 percent and over the next few years. So far, the government claims the moves have created or saved more than 50,000 jobs, a significant number given that unemployment totals about 500,000.

In the Netherlands, where unemployment is 16 percent, the govern-

ment late last year orchestrated a national agreement to give workers shorter hours in exchange for reorganizing automatic cost-of-living pay increases. Details are being worked out at the company or industry level.

In West Germany and Britain, measures to remodel working patterns are much less sweeping.

German unions and employers are warming up for a battle over working hours. IG Metall, the engineering workers' union that generally sets the pace for other unions, is campaigning for a 35-hour week, claiming it would save hundreds of thousands of jobs. The employers group, Gesamtmetall, says such a move would cost thousands of jobs unless workers accept big pay cuts, a doubtful proposition.

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## Pressure, Aloofness Marking U.S. Links To Chilean Regime

By Philip Taubman

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — In the face of civil unrest in Chile, the Reagan administration has tried to distance itself somewhat from the government of General Augusto Pinochet, senior U.S. officials say.

At the same time, they say, the United States has continued to press for political changes in Chile in the hope of averting an upheaval that would topple the Pinochet government.

The officials acknowledge that this mixture of aloofness and pressure is a delicate diplomatic combination that sometimes leaves an impression of inconsistency. But it is necessary, they say, because American influence on the Pinochet government is limited and the situation in Chile remains highly volatile, largely because of continued widespread unemployment.

Administration officials fear that being too critical of General Pinochet's handling of mass protests would eliminate any American leverage with the government, while a failure to press for change could leave the United States open to criticism that it encouraged General Pinochet to crack down on the opposition.

"Let's face it, we haven't got many cards to play in Chile," a senior official said. "Our influence with Pinochet is minimal and our credibility with the opposition is thin. At best, we can try to push for consensus and reform, but we don't have much power to influence events."

The varied signals from Washington have been evident in recent State Department statements. In July, after the arrest of opposition leaders in Chile, the department was cautiously critical, saying:

"The detention and solitary confinement of prominent democratic leaders can only be regarded as a regrettable manifestation of the serious tensions and divisions affecting Chile."

"Such actions illustrate the need for moderate leaders on all sides to find ways to halt the trend toward

confrontation and to establish the basic consensus needed for the transition to democracy sought by the vast majority of Chileans."

When violence flared this month, leaving 20 people dead, the State Department increased its criticism and distance, saying:

"The United States deplors the loss of life and the injuries. We also regret that recent efforts to promote a dialogue, to avoid violence and to build a consensus have so far been unable to halt the process of polarization."

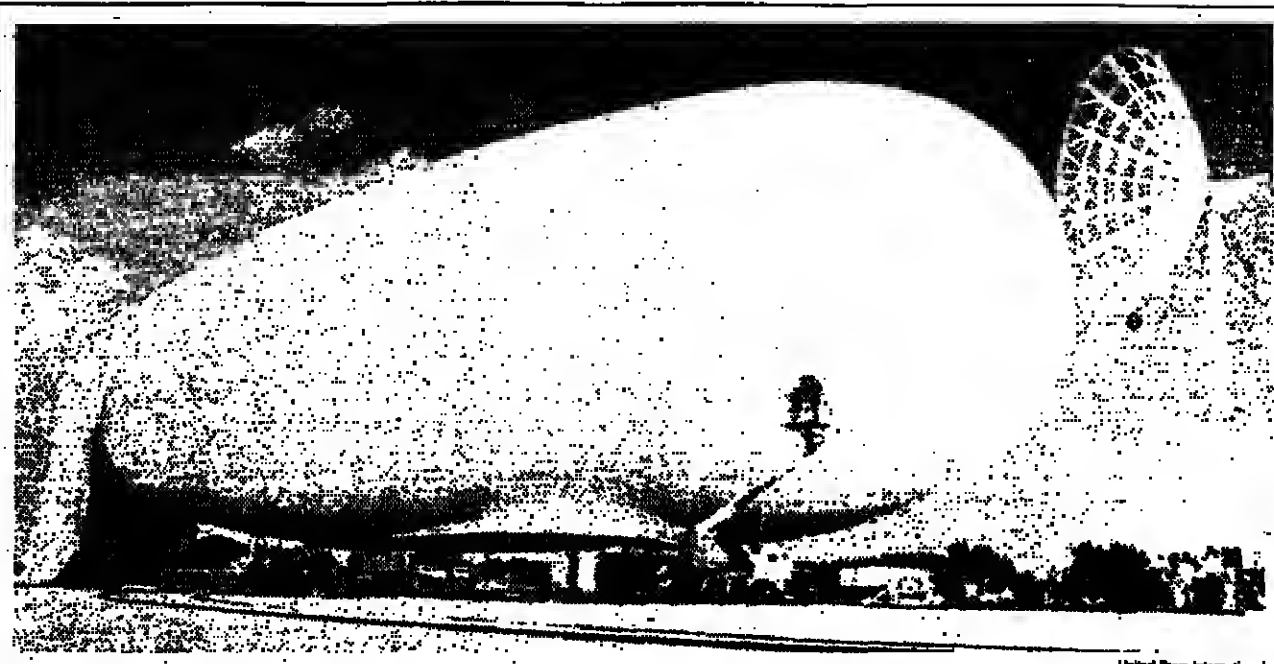
On Monday, after the Pinochet government announced it would allow more than 1,000 exiles to return to Chile, the department was more conciliatory, saying:

"We regard this as a favorable development which could help reconcile political divisions within Chile and contribute to effective dialogue between the government and opposition sectors and to the restoration of democracy."

The Reagan administration, contending that quiet persuasion was a more effective way to influence human rights performance, has moved to improve relations with Chile. Early in 1981, the administration lifted a U.S. ban of Export-Import Bank credits for the purchase of American goods and invited Chile to resume participation in annual exercises with U.S. and Latin American naval forces.

But relations remained cool, according to administration officials, because of the continued U.S. ban on military aid. As with El Salvador, the State Department must certify progress on human rights in Chile before military aid can be provided. Officials said widespread rights violations had made it impossible to certify such progress.

The officials say that until General Pinochet's support within the military erodes he will be able to remain in power. But they have seen signs of some erosion. After the demonstrations this month, the commander of the Chilean air force, General Fernando Matthei, said, "It is time for Chile to open a political debate."



READY FOR BLIMP PATROL — Personnel at Cape Canaveral Air Force Station in Florida pump helium and air into the "Fat Albert" surveillance balloon, which will be used to track low-flying aircraft. Also called the Tethered Aerostat Radar System, it is to become operational Sept. 30, attached to a five-mile polyester cable.

## Westmoreland-CBS Suit Focusing on CIA Papers

Cable Shows Agency Saw Attempt to Put 'Ceiling' on Number of Viet Cong

By Murray Marder

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Vietnam war documents from Central Intelligence Agency files have set off a storm of cross-claims in a \$120-million libel suit filed by William C. Westmoreland, a retired U.S. Army general, over the 1982 CBS News television documentary, "The Uncommon Enemy: A Vietnam Deception."

A CBS attorney, David Boies, contends that the declassified records include "a classic 'smoking gun' document," which, he said, "proves that the thesis of the broadcast was correct." General Westmoreland's attorney, Dan M. Burt, makes the opposite claim, saying that other cables in the same sequence show that the conspiracy accusation in the broadcast was "a fake."

In the last two weeks, "400 to 500 documents" have been released by the CIA in response to subpoenas, lawyers for CBS said.

General Westmoreland, the U.S. field commander in Vietnam from

1964 to 1968, contends he was libeled by the broadcast, which reported "a conspiracy at the highest levels of American military intelligence—to suppress and alter critical intelligence on the enemy" in 1967.

Attorneys for the television network focused their attention on a cable that they made available, sent from Saigon on Sept. 10, 1967, by George Carver, then special assistant to Richard M. Helms, then director of central intelligence.

Mr. Boies called it "the essence of the lawsuit" and said, "I think it is just devastating to the Westmoreland presentation." The cable shows, he contended, that the military command in Saigon—now Ho Chi Minh City—did impose an arbitrary "ceiling" on counting Viet Cong strength to make it appear that U.S. and South Vietnamese forces were winning the war.

The cable from Mr. Carver says, in part:

"Variety of circumstantial indicators — MACV (Military Assistance Command, Vietnam) juggling of figures its own analysts

presented during August discussions in Washington, MACV behavior, and tacit or oblique lunchtime and corridor admissions by MACV officers... all point to inescapable conclusion that General Westmoreland (with Komer's encouragement) has given instruction tantamount to direct order that VC [Viet Cong] strength total will not exceed 300,000 ceiling. Rationale seems to be that any higher figure would not be sufficiently optimistic and would generate unacceptable level of criticism from the press."

Robert W. Komer, a civilian aide to President Lyndon B. Johnson, was deputy commander for pacification. "This order," the cable continues, "obviously makes it impossible for MACV to engage in serious or meaningful discussion of evidence or our real substantive disagreements, which I strongly suspect are negligible. I hope to see Komer and Westmoreland tomorrow... and will endeavor to loosen this straitjacket. Unless I can, we are wasting our time."

Mr. Carver headed an interagency team sent from Washington to resolve a running dispute between the CIA and MACV over counting enemy strength. Both the CIA and MACV's own analysts had concluded that earlier assessments, especially on irregular forces, were seriously underestimated. That produced a prolonged dispute about the numbers and about the categories that should be counted as combat forces.

The CBS documentary reported allegations by military analysts that they were directed to hold their figures on Viet Cong strength below a 300,000 total. General Westmoreland denies imposing any "ceiling." The CIA's own total of enemy strength was in the "half-million range."

Admitting such a figure would have confounded the Johnson administration's determination to display progress in the war.

General Westmoreland has testified in pretrial depositions that his command inherited from the South

Vietnamese a "deceptive" and "erroneous breakdown" for counting enemy strength. When it was found that "we had underestimated the political cadre and underestimated the part-time irregulars," General Westmoreland said, "I didn't tell them to change any numbers... I want the matter reviewed."

"It became evident," he said, "that we should come up with a different format that would isolate the order of battle from the political cadre and from the home-guard types."

His objective, General Westmoreland said, was "to purify the order of battle so that we had a better fix on precisely who we were fighting." To combine the figures on enemy strength, he said, would have given a false impression "that suddenly we were fighting more people than we were before." Moreover, he said, it would have given ammunition to those "who were grasping at... every item that they could lay their hands on to embarrass the administration."

A breakdown of the figures into separate categories, said General Westmoreland's attorney, is what did evolve, as shown by other cables from Mr. Carver that he made available. But it was wrong and irresponsible, Mr. Burt said Monday, to label that "a conspiracy."

"I believe that the entire set of cables, as well as Mr. Carver's testimony, will make it very clear that the broadcast was as many people believe — fake," Mr. Burt said.

Subsequent cables, the attorney said, show that Mr. Carver, after meeting with General Westmoreland, "corrects his initial impression" that the commander had imposed a ceiling on enemy strength numbers. Mr. Burt said Mr. Carver cabled back to Washington to say "everything was resolved and Westmoreland was responsive to my position."

Mr. Carver on Monday said he agreed with that interpretation, and disagreed with the weight attached by the CBS attorneys to his Sept. 10, 1967, cable.

## Leftist Union in El Salvador Is Gaining Strength

By Edward Cody

Washington Post Service

SAN SALVADOR — The major leftist labor federation in El Salvador, which has ties to the rebel movement, has been quietly gaining strength and is poised to become the country's largest urban union.

The federation's growth represents a potential tool for organizing a renewal of street agitation such as the protests that led to repeated bloodshed and brutality two years ago, analysts in San Salvador warned. Street violence has all but disappeared since guerrilla tactics shifted to war in the countryside and leftist organizations in the capital were crushed by the U.S.-backed military.

The federation, the United Labor Movement of El Salvador, has found recruiting easier in recent months because restrictive wartime decrees that severely limit union activity have generated resentment against the government among workers whose pay and benefits have suffered.

Particularly worrying to U.S.

and Salvadoran officials is the reportedly imminent decision of the leading municipal employees' union in San Salvador to join forces with the federation. Officials of the federation and the union, the General Association of Public and Municipal Employees, have said talks are under way and that an agreement is expected soon.

The municipal group claims 12,000 members. Its association with the labor federation will bring the leftist-controlled umbrella group's overall strength to nearly 50,000, according to reliable estimates.

This will make the federation more powerful in the cities, mainly San Salvador, than the Popular Democratic Unity, the centrist labor federation backed by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. It also raises the possibility of a leftist-oriented labor federation exercising influence over municipal employees who could disrupt essential city services as part of any anti-government agitation, they add.

With some of their groups

banned under law and some of their leaders sought by the security forces, the federation officials emphasize purely labor goals and say they have no political ties to the guerrilla movement or its political arm, the Democratic Revolutionary Front. However, the federation's stands closely parallel those of the guerrilla movement, including rejection of U.S.-backed elections.

The Popular Democratic Unity, which has ties to the country's Christian Democratic Party, was created three years ago as a democratic counter to political forces that have since merged into the Democratic Revolutionary Front. It has been an important channel for U.S. influence among Salvadoran workers and peasants and, according to a recent study by researchers at the University of Central America, "is in large measure financed, organized and administered by the North American unions."

Officers of the Popular Democratic Unity and their U.S. backers claim a membership of several hundred thousand people. But even

sympathetic labor analysts in San Salvador dismiss the claim as exaggerated, putting the membership at a maximum of 100,000. Of that figure, they add, more than half comes from a peasant group called the Salvadoran Communal Union created by the AFL-CIO's American Institute of Free Labor Development.

The country's main rightist party, the National Republican Alliance led by former Mayor Roberto d'Aubuisson, has sought since August 1982 to create a sympathetic labor federation of its own, the National Workers Confederation. Analysts noted a confederation communiqué in December endorsing worker rights and political moderation, but the group's low membership means it wields little practical influence.

Decrees imposed by the government that ruled until April 1982 have laid down strict limits on labor organizations. One bars strikes by government employees, for example, and another forbids any union or trade association that threatens "the security of the state." A third, perhaps most salient by workers, freezes salaries except for government-set annual raises.

## Italian Reported Killed in Salvador

Washington Post Service

SAN SALVADOR — An Italian engineering company employee was killed and a Swiss colleague was wounded Tuesday night when Salvadoran soldiers fired on their car after they ran a roadblock, a Salvadoran military officer said Wednesday evening.

The shootings took place on the Pan American Highway at Quebrada Seca in San Vicente province, about 40 miles (64 kilometers) east of San Salvador. The dead man was identified as Vittorio Andreotti, 27, a technician. The Swiss, Claude Bernard Levanichy, was hit in the leg. Mr. Andreotti was the 15th European or U.S. citizen to be killed in San Salvador in recent years.

The Salvadoran officer, Colonel Francisco Morin, said the men were shot at about 11:30 P.M.

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## Scott Nearing, Radical, Environmentalist, Dies

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Scott Nearing, 100, a prominent pacifist and radical in the early part of the century who later became an ardent environmentalist, died Wednesday at the farm overlooking Penobscot Bay in Harborside, Maine, where he lived with his wife, Helen.

Mr. Nearing, a leader of the "back to the land" movement in the decades since World War II, had been in failing health since early this summer.

The Nearings wrote and lectured extensively on the virtues of the simple rural life and were favorites on college campuses. Among his better-known books was his auto-

biography, "The Making of a Radical," published in 1972, and "Living the Good Life," which he and his wife wrote in 1954.

He was born into a well-to-do family in Morris Run, Pennsylvania, graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1905 and received a doctorate in economics there four years later.

In 1915 he was dismissed from a professorship at the university's Wharton School of Economics for his outspoken opposition to capitalism. He then became dean of arts and sciences at the University of Toledo in Ohio. He also joined the Socialist Party and lectured at its Rand School in New York.

### DEATH NOTICE

The Board of the Stichting de Appel, Amsterdam announces the deaths, as a result of an air accident on Saturday August 20, 1983 in Switzerland, of:

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Josine van Doffelaar, born 1946, co-director  
Gerhard von Graevenitz, born 1934, board member.

This accident also claimed the lives of

Hendrik Smals, born May 6, 1983 and  
Martin Barkhuis, born 1959, art student.

We extend our deepest sympathies to the family members.

## Commemorative March On Washington Seeks Support for New Issues

By Karlyn Barker

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Twenty years after Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. aroused a crowd and a nation with his "I Have a Dream" speech for racial equality, tens of thousands of people will march here again Saturday in a commemorative gathering that is intended to protect past gains and promote support for objectives not envisioned then by most civil rights crusaders.

The anniversary of the historic March on Washington II, is attracting participants from more than 300 cities in the United States. It will feature well-known civil rights activists and other speakers, including King's widow, Coretta Scott King, Gloria Steinem, Andrew Young, the mayor of Atlanta, and the Reverend Jesse Jackson along with celebrity entertainers, such as Stevie Wonder, Bill Cosby and Peter, Paul and Mary.

March organizers are predicting a turnout comparable to the 250,000 who attended in 1963, but March on Washington II will bring a broader range of grievances and issues to the Lincoln Memorial. And in trying to rekindle some of the moral outrage, drama and hope that characterized the 1963 event, the marchers will be demonstrating just how far the country has come — and how far they think it still must go.

The original march was played out against a backdrop of "freedom rides," sit-ins and violence against civil rights demonstrators in the South, and it was staged primarily to promote the sweeping civil rights legislation, then pending in Congress, to outlaw segregation and other forms of racial discrimination.

At the time, Washington had never seen such a mass demonstration. But the march was carried out peacefully, and it marked the pivotal point in winning the support of white moderates and propelled King into the forefront of the civil rights movement.

"We are not having just a civil rights march here in 1983," said Walter E. Fauntroy, the march's national director.

The idea this time is to take the fight for civil rights and other issues of the day "the next step further," an organizer said.

Saturday's demonstrators — with its peace, anti-nuclear, environmental, labor, women's rights, homosexual rights, handicapped, elderly and various ethnic-rights contingents — will push an array of domestic and foreign policy concerns that have failed to inspire the same kind of sustained and popular passion.

With the Civil Rights Act long since enacted, march organizers have formed a "New Coalition of Conscience" and have agreed to work for approval of a bill to make King's birthday a national holiday and for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to ban discrimination on the basis of sex.

On foreign policy, march organizers support legislation that would cut defense spending, freeze

the nuclear arms race, prohibit the export of nuclear material and technology to South Africa, oppose International Monetary Fund assistance to South Africa and block new investments there by U.S. companies.

They also back a resolution calling for unconditional negotiations toward a peaceful solution of the conflict in El Salvador.

The march's theme is "Jobs, Peace and Freedom." Organizers note that unemployment is almost twice what it was in 1963 and that minority-group unemployment has climbed from 11 percent then to 17 percent.

Hard-won civil rights gains, they say, are starting to be reversed in some cases under the Reagan administration. Hate and violence, they argue, are increasing, and many Americans still suffer from hunger and extreme poverty. The number of wars worldwide has jumped from an estimated 15 in 1963 to 40 currently.

This broadening of the march's focus, however, and the attempt to keep its coalition intact, according to a leader of both marches, has caused disputes.

Several prominent Jewish groups, for instance, held off endorsing the march because of sections of the march's call and position papers that they interpreted as attacking Israel.

After march leaders quelled most of that dispute, agreeing to keep their Middle East statements short and not too specific, homosexual activists in Washington and elsewhere learned there would be no speaker at the march to represent their concerns. The rationale was that including a homosexual speaker might give the appearance of advocating the lifestyle, which some members of the coalition would find objectionable.

But such conflicts have been settled and the march, including homosexuals, is scheduled to begin at 8 A.M.

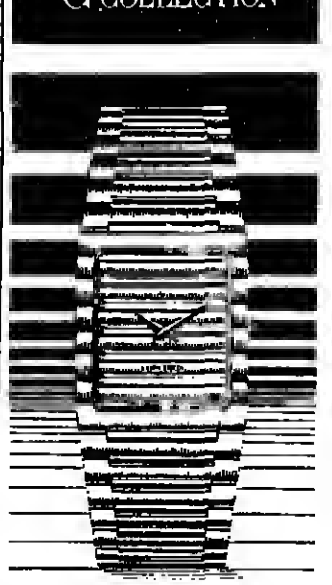
## Civilians Get Most Posts In Upper Volta's Cabinet

Reuters

OUAGADOUGOU, Upper Volta — The new leader of Upper Volta, Captain Thomas Sankara, has named a cabinet comprised mostly of civilians three weeks after he seized power from President Jean-Baptiste Ouédraogo.

Captain Sankara, 34, confirmed himself as head of state, chairman of the ruling National Revolutionary Council and minister of the interior and security. The 20-member cabinet, whose formation was announced Wednesday night, included one woman and four army officers apart from Captain Sankara.

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# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## The French in Chad

At this point no more than a provisional verdict may be rendered, but it seems fair to say that the Reagan administration's policy in Chad appears to be working, at least so far. Two darker possibilities — that the Libyan campaign to topple the government of Chad would roll along unchecked, and that America would be drawn directly into the resistance to Libya — have been averted. The signs are that the boiling international-level crisis of August is settling down into the sort of more modest regional pulling and hauling that Chad has had to live with for nearly two decades.

Chad's latest trials began when Colonel Moamer Qadhafi sought to test the anti-interventionist rhetoric that the Socialist government of President François Mitterrand, long in opposition, had brought to office in Paris. The empire-minded Libyan dispatched his Chadian aide, aided by substantial Libyan forces, to overthrow president Hissène Habré. For a while it seemed that France was truly paralyzed by the need to choose between its governing party's ideology and the French national interest in Africa as traditionally defined. Especially did it seem so to the Reagan administration, with its tendency to see Colonel Qadhafi principally as an instrument of Soviet power. The Reagan administration was apparently tempted to pick up the burden that the French were evidently laying down.

Fortunately, the French got their act together. They have been putting into place in and around Chad a military force, including ground troops and warplanes, to offset the help that Libya has given to the insurgents. It is said to be the largest French military operation in Africa since the war in Algeria.

With the Libyans' capture of the northern town of Faya-Largeau, the battle had come to a pause anyway. Now the French are in a position to put into effect their declared policy of trying to arrange a negotiated settlement. Colonel Qadhafi's denial that his forces are in Chad is taken by French officials as a tactic to make it easier for him to withdraw those forces. Washington is extremely skeptical of Libya's purposes, but it is showing the sense to be back and leave the field to the French, who have an important economic interest in Libya and claim to know how to navigate there.

By way of covering its (welcome) retreat from rhetoric to responsibility, the French government contrived a way to broadcast that the United States was applying unneeded "pressure" on France and was otherwise threatening to gun up the works. Wisely, the Reagan administration understood that President Mitterrand was constructing a politically useful argument — that is, to save Africa from American blundering — that would allow him to conduct a more forceful policy of his own. We wish him success in doing so.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

## A New Era in Italy?

Italy's installation of Bettino Craxi as its first Socialist prime minister culminates a 20-year effort to lift the Communist Party's mortgage on Italian political life. That deliverance is vital. Democratic government in Italy has been paralyzed since the 1950s by the West's most powerful Communist Party, whose control of 30 percent of the seats in Parliament, when combined with the votes of splinter groups, requires democratic governments to retain the support of nine out of 10 centrist deputies. That has meant legislative deadlock and instability — 44 governments in 37 years, all but two headed by Christian Democrats.

Two decades ago a way out was sought through the "opening to the left" — the broadening of the center-right coalition to include the Socialists. Its aims: social reform and making the neo-Communist left more attractive to workers. Instead, the Socialists' entry enabled the do-nothing Christian Democrats, with about 38 percent of the vote, to continue to dominate government. The Socialists, divided left and right, failed to gain much ground and still have only 11 percent of the vote.

But Mr. Craxi has brought change. A professional politician since his youth, he was little known in 1976 when he was drafted as "caretaker" party secretary after election losses and a mild Socialist flirtation with the Communists. To the surprise of all he quickly reorganized the party, crushed its left wing, substituted the rose for its hammer-and-sickle

symbol, routed all rivals and abandoned outdated Marxist ideology. The Socialists' future, Mr. Craxi has insisted, lies with the center-left coalition at home and abroad with the European Community and NATO, where the Italians now are the only Socialists who still welcome American missiles on their soil.

Although he controlled only 10 percent of Parliament, Mr. Craxi dared to make a first bid for the premiership in 1979, then brought down three governments in four years. Finally he forced June's early elections. These inflicted a 5 percent loss on the Christian Democrats, held the Communists four points below their 1976 peak and, despite only modest Socialist gains, made him prime minister.

Given the examples of Socialists newly come to power in France, Spain, Portugal and Greece, Mr. Craxi believes he can revive Socialist fortunes in Italy, too. It will not be easy. He faces high inflation and unemployment, declining production and a huge deficit. He has cabinet approval for austerity and some political reforms, but other agreements will be needed — first in a cabinet of 30 members and five parties, then in an unruly Parliament. The coalition partners have pledged to hold together for at least three years. Mr. Craxi will need all his political skills to last even one. But if he can hang on, while carrying out a coherent program, he may begin to loosen the 38-year Communist grip on Italy's political life.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Opinion

### President Zia and the Military

[President Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan] implies that he knows best what is good for the people, stating that his purpose "is to guide the people to the correct path which will lead to the establishment of a true Islamic sociopolitical order and a true Islamic government." Something akin to that of Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran? Either the president has misread the pent-up feelings against continued military rule, or he has grossly underestimated the opposition's credentials to rally a sustained demonstration now in its 12th day.

President Zia, who wants to switch to a presidential system of government with himself as president, might in fact be pushing his luck — that is, if the agitators continue much longer or if the army decides it will not shoot down agitators and makes a grab for power. With Pakistan's long run of military coups, it is a brave man who will tempt fate or history. President Zia has pushed himself into just such a corner.

— South China Morning Post (Hong Kong).

[President Zia] is a very smart manipulator; it takes a rare combination of skills to chain the Pakistani tigers of regionalism and religion for any length of time. He has had to be sure, some strokes of luck — the embroilment of the Bhutto sons in terrorism and, more significantly, the constant threat of Afghanistan just across the border, concentrating military minds and shoring up American support for his regime. But all leaderships, in Pakistan terms, come to an end sooner rather than later. And as civil disturbance once again echoes along the streets from Karachi to Peshawar it

is at least an open question whether President Zia's tenure is not drawing to a close. Cacophony on the streets, after all, pitched [the late Prime Minister] Bhutto from office; that and the realization among Pakistan's military men that a change had to be made. The same deadly phalanx of top brass will be watching President Zia closely over the next few weeks.

— The Guardian (London).

The news from Pakistan these past 11 days has been all bad. Citizens and members of an eight-party opposition group are demanding an end to the martial law of President Zia ul-Haq. At least 28 Pakistanis have been killed, virtually all of them by policemen firing on crowds of demonstrators in various parts of the country. Scores more have been wounded, some by gunfire and others in the accompanying violence. Hundreds have been arrested, and the courts have shown no leniency. Jail sentences have been handed out quickly, and they have been for long terms. Lashings have been ordered in many cases.

President Zia faces many problems in governing his often volatile country, and there is no particular consensus from the opposition as to what they would replace his regime with. At this point the anti-Zia demonstrators are offering destruction of the Zia rule with no clear-cut alternative. In that sense General Zia is correct in attempting to regain order and peace in his country. But he also must face the fact of discontent among his citizens. At some point in the not-too-distant future he must agree to discuss calmly and collectively the grievances which have sparked this regrettable violence.

— The Bangkok Post.

## FROM OUR AUG. 26 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

**1908: Japan Fears U.S.-China Link**  
PARIS — Convincing evidence that the idea of an American-Chinese rapprochement is popular in the United States is discernible in the extraordinary decision of Japanese officials to protest against the *Herald's* campaign in its favor. This was the opinion expressed by Mr. Li-Sun-Ling, editor of the "Chinese Mail," of Hong Kong. "An official step of that kind would be unprecedented and unjustifiable," said Mr. Li. "Sovereign nations hitherto have been in the habit of concluding the alliances they found advisable without seeking the approval or the sanction of other nations. . . . The protest is also unjustifiable because a Chinese-American alliance would not imperil the legitimate interests of any other nation."

**1933: 40-Hour Week Is Imminent**  
WASHINGTON — Efforts of the NRA to bring the nation under codes by Labor Day took a giant stride when virtual agreement was reached on a revised code governing 1,500,000 small retail stores, affecting more than 5,000,000 employees. Under the revised draft the working week starts at 40 hours and extends to 48 depending on the size of the establishment and of the city. Most of the stores which will come under the code have been working 52 to 60 hours a week. The minimum wage is fixed at \$14 and increases according to the size of the city. The President has set Tuesday as a deadline for agreement, which is taken to mean that unless an accord is reached by then, the NRA will write the code.

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## 'The United States Should Have Bombed'

By Michael A. Ledeen

WASHINGTON — The United States should have bombed the Libyan column as it invaded Chad. Instead it chose to hide behind a fictional unity of vision with France.

President François Mitterrand has blamed Washington for the mess he has created in France. He has meddled irresponsibly in Central America. His spokesmen have issued false statements about U.S. policy in southern Africa. By calling on France to act in its "sphere of influence," America has missed a golden opportunity.

Once upon a time France might have moved on its own against Moamer Qadhafi's invaders, but those days are long gone. Former President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing enraged some of his top advisers a few years ago when he refused to send French Jaguars against a similar Libyan column. Mr. Mitterrand, although better on defense questions, is certainly no braver when it comes to moving against self-proclaimed revolutionaries in the Third World.

It was America's move. After all, the United States had laid down the gauntlet to Colonel Qadhafi more than a year ago by refusing to buy Libyan oil, calling for the removal of Americans from the country, branding him a leading force in international terrorism and identifying him as the man who dispatched a group of killers to murder President Reagan.

When the invasion of Chad began, the United States rattled its radars and sent AWACS surveillance planes (since withdrawn) over the area, evidently hoping that the French would bomb the Libyans. The United States forgot that one does not lay down a gauntlet and then tell one's opponent, "I'll send my seconds to fight you — if I can convince them."

The United States was correct to challenge Colonel Qadhafi; its bill of particulars against him is truthful and legitimate.

No matter that U.S. television networks broadcast his lies without serious challenge. No matter that sophisticated analysts provided dozens of reasons why America should not intervene — Chad is so far away, so unimportant, a worthless place with an undemocratic regime.

For Africans, blacks and Arabs alike, Colonel Qadhafi is at least a nuisance, at most a mortal threat. For Western Europe he is the man who a year ago sent assassination squads all over the continent — and all the way to Colorado — to try to murder his political opponents.

He reaches to Central America, where his airplanes fly material to the totalitarianists in Cuba and Nicaragua for use against El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica.

In diplomatic conversations at the highest level, U.S. officials are often pointedly asked why the colonel continues to be such a problem. For the free world, and those who wish to join with the United States, he is an enemy.

That is what is currently at stake, and the

Libyan threat is serious. Colonel Qadhafi has more planes and tanks than the French, and he runs enough terrorist training camps to produce thousands of "graduates" every year. His move into Chad is not a major geopolitical threat to the United States, but the consequences of a prestigious Libyan military conquest would be the United States for years to come.

Neighboring African countries would have to make some accommodation with him. The active subversion of other countries in the region, already a major problem, would be stepped up, and it would be easier for a Qadhafi who is seen as a winner — with lots of money to throw around. International terrorism would increase. But if the Libyans had been taken out as they crossed the border into Chad, the entire civilized world would have been pleased.

African countries undecided about their future courses would have been relieved of a significant threat, and could tranquilly have contemplated greater democratization.

Fidel Castro and his Sandinist friends in the Caribbean would have had to recalculate their confident belief that the United States would not

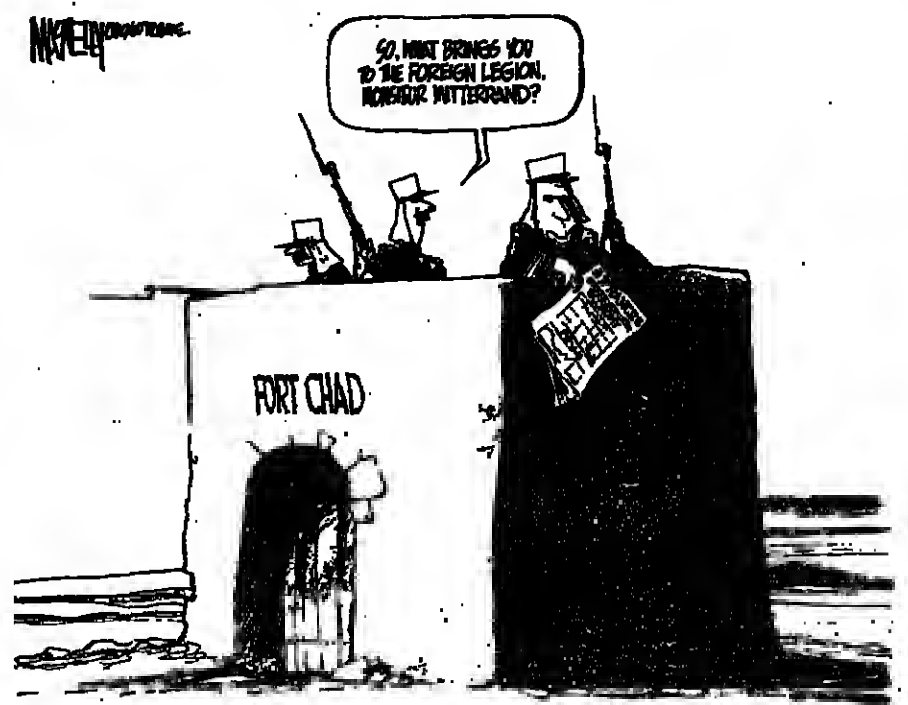
use military force against them. The chances for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the guerrilla war in El Salvador would have increased significantly. And the United States would have served notice that it was prepared to meet hostile imperialism with the force required to block it.

President Reagan is doing better than his predecessor, whose brother met terrorist leaders in Tripoli and became a Qadhafi booster, but he has still not matched his rhetoric with action. Eventually he will have to do that or gain a reputation as a paper tiger.

Instead of wheedling and cajoling the bumptious French president, the United States should have said to him: "Someone has to do this. Traditionally it has been a French role, but if you have opted out, we are going to do it." That would have shown leadership and an understanding both of what Colonel Qadhafi represents and of the proper use of power.

In those circumstances, I suspect that Mr. Mitterrand would have acted quickly. Anything, even doing the right thing, is better for a Frenchman than being shown up by the Americans.

The writer, a fellow at Georgetown's Center for Strategic and International Affairs, contributed this comment to the Los Angeles Times.



## All the Same, Qadhafi Isn't Africans' Main Worry

By Les Payne

NEW YORK — One of the more interesting policies of Idi Amin's regime in Uganda was his intention to convert the country from Christianity to Islam.

According to his former minister of health, Henry Kyemba, much of the former dictator's fervor could be attributed to his dedication to this conversion. "Amin's things are Moslem, his officers are Moslem, and slowly, his cabinet is being taken over by Moslems," Mr. Kyemba, a Christian, wrote in his book, "A State of Blood."

Only 10 percent of Ugandans were Moslem, and Mr. Kyemba argued that Amin's terror was directed against the religious majority. "Amin has attempted to demonstrate to the Arabs that Uganda is, through the dictator's terrorism, a Moslem state," Mr. Kyemba wrote. But the real and unsurprising reason for his Moslem drift was "to ensure a continued flow of Arab oil money."

Among the papers Marshal Amin left behind in the presidential pal-

ace in Kampala in 1979 was a letter from Colonel Qadhafi indicating that he saw Idi Amin and Central Africa's Jean-Bedel Bokassa as chief instruments for spreading Islam, and Colonel Qadhafi's influence in sub-Saharan Africa.

"Your Excellency," the Libyan's letter began, "God's peace, His mercy and blessing be upon you. His Excellency President Bokassa, the chairman of the Revolutionary Council in African Central Republic, has responded to the true call of Allah and that Mohammed is his prophet, thus announcing his conversion to Islam and religion and his name is now President Salah el Din Ahmed Bokassa."

"This important event in modern Islamic history has realized to the Moslems a new state which has joined to the Islamic States, which is considered as a new victory to Islam and Moslems and a new strength to

be added to our strength. While congratulating you and your people together with all Moslems with this historical event, I wish you would send him a telegram congratulating and supporting him. Dear Brother, this will make our President Salah el Din feel strong and proud to join our big Islamic group."

The present events in Chad fit snugly with what have long been Colonel Qadhafi's intentions: to spread Islam through sub-Saharan Africa. Of course the proselytizing is rather easily done in a dictatorship, where the Libyan can acquire at least temporary conversion by handing over a few million dollars to the strongman in command.

But Colonel Qadhafi was never able to ensure that Mr. Bokassa alternately embraced and repelled the Moslem faith in accordance with the timeliness and abundance of the colonel's payments. For his

part, Idi Amin did stop in Libya after fleeing Uganda, only to discover that Libya was too small for a second Moslem super ego. He went to Saudi Arabia, where, with his family and his looted gold, he resides at the pleasure of his Moslem brothers, with the understanding that he must speak and walk quickly and carry no stick at all.

In Chad Colonel Qadhafi is now sponsoring another thrust for power. Still, the fact is that African countries have a long, bloody history of suffering under European countries. So while African leaders are troubled by Colonel Qadhafi's expansionist intentions, they are more troubled by the intentions of European powers such as France, and by nearby powers such as South Africa and Israel, and to a lesser extent by the United States.

In their concern with Libya or Cuba, African leaders are reluctant to resort to industrialized powers that pose an even greater threat.

Newday.

## Why Should Fiscal Sanity Have to Wait Till 1985?

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — Politicians have learned to trust economists about as much as laboratory mice trust biologists. For some reason, they think the experiments may not do them much good.

Politicians distrust the economists' jargon, their methods, their models, their forecasts, their equivocations. So they tend to take refuge in the fact that economists are often in disagreement with each other.

But this is one of those rare moments when the economists are leaving the politicians very little wiggle room. If the economists are wrong, they are almost unanimous in their error. And if they are right, the politicians really have no excuse not to act.

In the last few weeks three eminent economists, who have all headed the president's Council of Economic Advisers, have given their views to three sets of politicians. No differences in policy, methodology or partisanship clouded their crystal balls.

Martin Feldstein, a Republican and the current chairman of President Reagan's council, gave his description in late July to the Senate Banking Committee. A few days later Alan Greenspan, a Republican who was chairman of President Ford's council, laid it out for the National Governors' Association in Portland, Maine. Ten days after that, Charles L. Schultze, a Democrat who was chairman of President Carter's council, drew the picture for the National Conference of State Legislatures in San Antonio. The three speeches were so similar that you could almost move paragraphs around from one to another without anyone noticing.

This is what they said:

The powerful recovery that is now under way can and should continue for the balance of 1983, without reigniting the danger of inflation.

It will slow "at a fairly dramatic rate" (Mr. Greenspan), "substantially" (Mr. Feldstein) or "significantly" (Mr. Schultze) as the United States moves into 1984 and rebuilding inventories catch up with sales.

Further economic gains may not be absorbed, but will almost certainly be distorted by the impact of abnormally high real interest rates. Those rates will damage the housing and construction industries, curtail export sales, limit the attractiveness of capital spending and investment,

and leave defense and consumer products to carry the whole burden of sustaining forward momentum.

The main reason for the abnormally high, destructive interest rates, all three economists said, is the inability of the federal government to discipline its own spending. The seeming inevitability of annual deficits in the range of \$200 billion as far as the eye can see casts a huge dark shadow on the economic horizon.

If the government could produce a realistic plan for reducing the deficits, all three economists see the genuine prospect of a golden age — a time of low inflation, real productivity growth, improved international competitiveness and job- and profit-producing economic expansion.

But, as realists about Washington, Mr. Greenspan and Mr. Schultze say (with the incumbent Mr. Feldstein maintaining a discreet silence) that there is no prospect of a serious political negotiation between the Republican president and Senate and the Democratic House until the 1984 election is out of the way.

Without such an agreement, they say, chances are America will bump along through 1984, risking almost every day a miscalculation by the Federal Reserve Board or a tremor in the world economic situation that could cut the recovery off at the knees and trigger either a new recession or a new round of inflation.

Without an agreement, the risk factor will grow steadily until it becomes almost an inevitability.

The outlines of the needed grand compromise are clear to the economists of both parties: an agreement to slow the growth of both the defense budget and entitlement (Social Security and Medicare) spending, combined with measures to recover some of the tax revenues grandly

squandered in the last 30 months of federal tax cuts.

Mr. Greenspan called for an "economic summit" to hammer out such a deal — as soon as the victory in the 1984 election assembly in Washington in January 1985. But, given the stakes for America and the world, such a delay is unacceptable.

If the United States faced a military threat or an impending natural disaster, no one would dare hang a sign on Pennsylvania Avenue saying, "Congress and White House Out to Lunch. Back in 17 Months."

American voters do not have to accept such cavalier treatment from the politicians. Anyone who is out campaigning — and they all will be — should be told, "Before you ask my support, tell me what you are doing now to get a handle on the deficits that can destroy our future."

The economists give the politicians no excuse. Neither should the voters.

The Washington Post.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Will the Children Age?

Regarding "Will She Reach 51?" (LHT, Aug. 17) by Roger Wilkins:

My daughter is 11. I, too, am an old father, and as such I am fairly confident that the Gulag will be spared me. Both my mother and my grandmother, two wonderful women, died in Auschwitz. Yet I believe that even today they keep an eye on my girl, and that they will do everything to save her from a fate worse than atomic death. And to save Roger Wilkins's daughter too.

WOJCIECH GNATCZYNSKI  
Munich.

Roger Wilkins states that his parents' generation had no means of imagining the present military pro-

dicament. He is wrong. International anarchy — that is, the existence of fully sovereign nations — has always pointed logically to the development of massively destructive warfare.

Far from "suggesting that the concept of national sovereignty may be obsolete," I say it is as obsolete as the concept of slavery and far more objectionable. Slavery never threatened the extinction of humanity.

ANGUS SIBLEY  
London.

### One Admit's Prayer

Regarding "For Diplomats' Children, Washington Is Garden of Earthly Temptations" (LHT, Aug. 19):

"Burger King hunches and Budweiser babes" are the apples of Eden dangling before their children, says your report. I do hope that when I die there will be an Eden for adults.

A. TORRENTS DELS PRATS  
Geneva.

### The Educated Dropout

Regarding "Karen Stevenson's Journey" (LHT, Aug. 16):  
Millions of people, black and

white, would give their right arms for the education that Karen Stevenson has enjoyed. Granted, a good deal of her accomplishments are due to her own initiative and resourcefulness. But she could put her learning to a great deal better use than by pondering the meaning of life — which she won't discover, any more than anyone else has. I hope her time out for reflection will be confined to months and not years. Who knows where her talents may be needed?

E. LAUSCHKE  
Schwalbach, West Germany.

### Riefenstahl Defended

Regarding Judith Mara Gunn's critique of photographer Loni Riefenstahl (LHT, Aug. 12):

This article on Riefenstahl's photographs from Sudan is pathetic. What a sad world if we are still bludgeoned with World War II hatreds. As a Marine veteran from the Pacific and a combat photographer in occupied Korea and Vietnam, I feel quite at home today in Japan and Korea, and with Vietnamese.

As an old life photographer who later spent years beside Picasso, an-

other kind of tribal chief, I look with awe at Riefenstahl's monumental portraits of those Sudanese living staves — without feeling that her Germanic sensibilities corrupt my Missouri-bred puritanism. I can find for myself without being shepherded toward a clearer appraisal of photographs by your critic.

But then, Riefenstahl and I have more than photography in common. When my book, "War Without Heroes," was published on Vietnam — my protest against the tragedy and carnage seen everywhere on a battlefield — I read somewhere of another photography "expert's" conclusion that I was glorifying war.

DAVID DOUGLAS DUNCAN  
Mouans-Sartoux, France.

This article was surprisingly nasty. I cannot see how these lyrical, glamorizing images of Nuba tribesmen's body paint and tattoos "rob the figures of humanity." What would Judith Gunn find inhumanistic? It is no small achievement to make a mud-covered basket-carrier beautiful.

JAY ROTHBELL SHECKLEY  
Paris.







|          | Vol. | High   | Low    | Close  | Chg.  |
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| WingB S  | 2075 | 29 3/4 | 29 1/4 | 29 3/4 | + 3/8 |
| TeleBrk  | 4675 | 74     | 73 1/2 | 74     | + 1/2 |
| Danmex   | 3392 | 49 1/2 | 49     | 49 1/2 | + 1/2 |
| ImuCh    | 3572 | 8 1/2  | 8 1/4  | 8 1/2  | + 1/8 |
| Amnrl S  | 2446 | 17 1/2 | 16 3/4 | 17 1/2 | + 1/4 |
| Meenran  | 1509 | 72     | 71 1/4 | 72     | + 1/4 |
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August 26, 1983

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## Nazis, Hinckleys and 'The Blood of Others'

PARIS — During the German Occupation of Paris, Simone de Beauvoir wrote a novel called "The Blood of Others." It was not very good. "Re-reading the book today I find myself struck by my characters' lack of depth," she later wrote. The novel has been copiously improved by Brian Moore into a vast script that is being shot, both in a six-hour television version and

## MARY BLUME

as a shorter feature film, by the French director Claude Chabrol with a multinational cast that includes Jodie Foster and Michael Ontkean as the lovers Hélène and Jean, New Zealand's Sam Neill as the German Bergman, and Chabrol's ex-wife, Stéphane Audran, as a collaborating courier not unlike Coco Chanel.

"The book was more a work of reflection than of action — the action occurred between the pages, not on them," Chabrol says. This is his fifth film in English — the performers he has directed range from Orson Welles in a putty nose to Ann-Margret — and he regards his English career, as he regards everything, with an air of quizzical detachment.

"Filming with Americans is not a problem," he says. "When the producers say they won't understand a certain detail in America, I say 'That's too bad' and leave it in. I am amazed," he adds, "by the degree to which North Americans think other North Americans are stupid." Chabrol, 53, began as the director of what has been called the first *nouvelle vague* film, "Le Beau Serge," (1958) and was an early Cahiers de Cinéma critic. He has been greatly praised abroad ("One could mention Chabrol's use of table lamps," enthused a British critic) and is suspected in France of two cardinal sins: being a bourgeois and being cynical.

"I don't really know what cynicism means," he has said. "Perhaps it's that I laugh at myself, and if you laugh at yourself people assume that you're laughing even harder at them, which isn't true." On the other hand, those who say he likes to shock are quite right.

"I want to do what shocks me, I want to shock myself," he said on location in the Prince de Galles Hotel in Paris, which was standing in for Maxim's.

"There are too many false ideas and clichés around. They're all too comfortable, too simple. I don't want to be a troublemaker," he added truthfully, with a glint in his eye, "but I know of nothing more comfortable for French intellectuals than Solidarity. One puts on a little badge and one feels good. That I detest."

Nor does he take comfort from the belated Resistance spirit that the French showed this spring when Klaus Barbie, the German "Butcher of Lyons," was arrested. "I don't excuse Barbie, who was scum, a *crapule*. But I wonder if there aren't also *crapules* among those who judge him. That's what worries me."

The film ends in 1941. "You know what comes next is going to be terrible," Chabrol says. "It isn't yet, but it will be." The Paris he shows will be low-keyed, colored in green from German uniforms and blue from the protective covering pasted on windows — colors that struck the young Chabrol on the two visits to Paris that his father, an early *résistant* in the Creuse region, allowed him to make.

A lot of his shots are based on familiar photographs from the time, such as today's scene in which Jodie Foster and Sam Neill sit in a posh restaurant, the only civilians in a field of green uniforms. Foster plays an ardent young Frenchwoman, Hélène, who is in love with a *résistant* named Jean; Neill is a German manufacturer who loves Hélène as she loves Jean.

The German manufacturer hardly exists in the novel. In the film he is a pivotal character, and Neill, an interesting actor who first drew attention in the Australian film, "My Brilliant Career," plays him with smooth menace.

"He's not a heavy, he's a man who is dangerous in his own way, in the way Germans were in 1940," Neill says. "He's very deferential, very correct, anxious to please the French but dangerous when he doesn't get his way because he becomes aware of his own power."

Neill is happy about working with Chabrol, whom he has always admired, and even happier about working with Stéphane Audran. "It's an extraordinary thing for a boy from the bush," he says. He prepared his part by getting a German accent from the best coach around (the accent was later dropped by Chabrol) and from talking to Germans.

"None of them fought in the war, of course," he says, smiling. "But you know what it must have been like for the others."

Michael Ontkean plays the *résistant* whose willingness to shed the blood of others inadvertently causes the death of Hélène, although on her deathbed she assures him that her death was her own choice. "You are never more than an instrument in another person's destiny," Beauvoir later wrote to summarize Hélène's attitude. "No external factor could possibly encroach upon freedom of choice: I willed my own death."

Ontkean has been reading every book and listening to every phonograph record of the

period, Jodie Foster, as Hélène, has done no research at all.

"Jodie is a fascinating character and I let her do her own thing," Chabrol says. "She is so close to the character — very strong, very impulsive."

"Either I am like Hélène or I have made Hélène like me," Jodie Foster says when Chabrol's remark is repeated. She is wearing a mipped-in little black suit, black seamed stockings, a snood and a steeply-raked hat. The coiffed child actor has become a sturdy cobb with an unblinking blue gaze. She is 20 and has been acting since the age of 3: from having been prodigious as a child, she must now become interesting, which is harder.

Hélène is a complicated character, a light-headed girl whose later commitment must seem possible from the start. "If there's great strength and success orientation later, it was always there," Foster says. "There is some force within her, some fatal quality that is there from the start."

She also sees the film as a love story: "What a woman will do for a man, what a man will do for his country, what he won't do for a woman. It's about the choice between war and love because reciprocal love and war cannot exist at the same time."

Foster is a student at Yale, class of 1984, majoring in Afro-American literature. Her mind, she says, tends to be literary and analytical, and she feels she will probably end up as a writer or director. Although she dies in "The Blood of Others," it is important to her that it is not a war film. "It's important that there's no blood or war in it. There's one death and that is so Chabrol that you don't even notice it. That's the beauty of it — death is not mystical."

The fact that death is so ordinary, that we come near it every day, is one of the themes of an article Jodie Foster wrote for Esquire magazine and called "Why Me?" It was about the strange long-distance passion that John Hinckley felt for the young actress and the effect that Hinckley's attempt to kill President Ronald Reagan had on her.

She wrote the article to help understand an event that she had never discussed and that was so horrifying that the Yale administration and the FBI, which should have been helping her, were at a loss. Through the confusion and the death threats, she tried to carry on and, in the end, succeeded. "I don't understand survival. Faced with death I would survive."

She says she acts for the fun of it, for the warmth and affection of the film set. She recently finished "The Hotel New Hamp-



Jodie Foster and Claude Chabrol.

shire," in which she played Franny (Tony Richardson directed) and says she never had such a good time. "Everyone in it was under 25, and even those who weren't, were," she says.

She seems at least 26, cloaked in polite and protective self-assurance. She is the one who brings up the subject of Hinckley, assuming it is inevitable. She says she has always been the one whom people lean on and confide in: the person in control. "I know the delivery," she

says, "because I've learned to be competent on the screen."

"In the movie business you're not allowed to be out of control. I don't know if it is because I am an actress that I had to assume that role, or was I strong to begin with?"

An actor, she says, must manipulate audiences. "If you want to be effective as an actress, you have to make love to 30 million spectators

and at the same time be slightly aloof. There's a kind of aggression there — you're available and you're not."

It's an aggression that can exacerbate the illness of a Hinckley. Worse, it may attract other Hinckleys. "Yes," Foster says. And yet, she has survived and she has learned to the point where one wonders if the Hinckley tragedy didn't have a positive side. The answer is the same: a terse and unreflected "yes."

## In the Swim With a Little Fish

by James Conaway

WASHINGTON — How fares Liliput in Broodingland? That is, how do small embassies operate in Washington? Are their ambassadors, pinstriped against the oncoming canyons, like those other powerful fellows residing in spiny concrete palaces? What do emissaries from the smaller countries do all day, anyway?

You might well ask. "I attend many important functions," says the ambassador from Antigua and Barbuda, which maintains one of the smallest embassies in Washington, consisting of His Excellency and a secretary.

Barbados has a somewhat larger embassy, if a bit less diplomacy. "I'm afraid the ambassador's presently in Barbados," says a spokesman for His Excellency Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, referring to the caller as, "Mister Whoever-You-Are."

These ambassadors to the United States do seem hard to find. The ambassador from Namur does whatever he does in Melbourne, Australia. The ambassador to the United States from the Kingdom of Tonga has the very good taste to live in London. The ambassador to the United States from Tuvalu resides permanently in — Tuvalu.

How about Upper Volta? "Hat!" shouts the secretary to that country's ambassador. "Why do you pick Upper Volta?" Because it has only three representatives in the United States. "You must talk to the cultural attaché. Speak very slowly." The cultural attaché of Upper Volta, however, doesn't like the idea of a reporter hanging about. "Right now we are having renovations."

Liechtenstein? "We handle all the affairs of Liechtenstein," says a member of the Swiss Embassy.

"Belize!" suggests a member of the State Department's Central American desk. "Why don't you do Belize?" But unfortunately the ambassador from Belize is also the financial secretary of Belize and is working on the budget in — yes, that's right, in Belize.

All of which brings us eventually to the doorstep of a house on R Street, on the wrong side of Dupont Circle. A bulletproof glass box lets the receptionist check out visitors before admitting them to the embassy of Singapore. On the wall hang photographs of the president and his wife.

The name Punch Coomaraswamy echoes through the halls with regularity. Punch Coomaraswamy is the ambassador himself, a slight 56-year-old former speaker of the Singapore parliament who wears the requisite pin stripes, glasses with serious black rims and an air of infatigable discretion.

"The key thing is to get a feeling for the political scene," says Ambassador Coomaraswamy of his duties. He uses two hoary devices — exchanging views and gathering information.

On this particular morning, he begins gathering information at 6:30 A.M. by reading the newspaper in his home, owned and furnished by the Republic of Singapore. Then he is driven in a pale yellow Mercedes 280E, belonging to the Republic of Singapore, to the Supreme Court cafeteria — "an excellent place for breakfast, by the way" — where he obtains information from a former Democratic congressional aide about Democratic congressional candidates for the presidency of the United States.

"I didn't want to get information from an insider's insider," he says. "I wanted an informed, dispassionate observer."

The objective is to determine who might be next president of the United States and hat that might mean for Singapore, where 2.5

million people live and many Asians rest in resplendent new skyscrapers.

After breakfast, the ambassador is driven to the embassy, where he reads the cables arriving from Singapore during the night.

Now his driver takes the ambassador, his minister-counselor and his first secretaries for politics and economics to the Thai embassy for a meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. They are joined by representatives of Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines. Instant coffee and Coke are served, along with the sugary Thai pastry called golden hair, while information gathered that morning from the newspapers is discussed and views exchanged.

The representatives are concerned with the state of the U.S. economy. Singapore exports almost everything from clothing to steers to the United States, and an exchange of goods, as well as views, with American consumers is of the utmost importance to the ambassador from Singapore.

After the meeting, he returns to the embassy to read his mail, then goes to lunch at Le Jardin, a restaurant where he is well known. "Hi, Punch," call out several men at the bar, all editors for U.S. News and World Report. "How you doin', Punch?" asks the waitress, handing him a menu and taking his order for a bloody Mary.

His Excellency the Ambassador is obviously uncomfortable with all this American familiarity.

The United States has had a consul in Singapore since 1840. According to Coomaraswamy, the first consul was Paul Revere's son-in-law. Formerly a British colony, Singapore has a population that is 78 percent Chinese, 15 percent Malay-Indonesian and 7 percent Indian; it has been called the proving ground for a new Asia dedicated to the free enterprise system. "In the old days," he says, "an ambassador's concern was politics and defense. Now it's commerce and trade policy."

He has been an ambassador for 14 years, to Australia and India before the United States. He says he misses his two grown children in Singapore, whom he sees less than once a year. There is nothing frivolous about the ambassador; nothing is wasted in the punctilious pursuit of information and exchanged views: "Washington is the busiest diplomatic posting on earth. In most countries an ambassador gets all his information from a ministry of foreign affairs. Here we have, in addition to State, the Congress, the Pentagon, the National Security Council. To get the attention of these institutions, an ambassador from a small country must rely on the force of his personality."

After lunch, the ambassador is driven to the State Department for a meeting with a director of one of the Asian desks. He is most punctilious in scheduling meetings. "I'm a great believer in not putting your level too high. I don't demand to see the secretary if what I have to discuss is not appropriate. If I don't have something to warrant an officer's attention, then the next meeting will be more difficult to arrange."

And what did the meeting accomplish? "We had an exchange of views."

The driver takes him home. The door is opened by a butler in black suit, and the ambassador goes upstairs to change clothes for a diplomatic reception at the Mayflower Hotel.

Coomaraswamy and his wife, Kaila, a pleasant woman in a sari, come down for drinks before going out again. The parlor is furnished with Singaporean exports, including heavily lacquered tables and a pair of life-sized toddlers in Chinese porcelain arranged on a rug before the hearth. An ink drawing of a reclining Buddha hangs on the wall.

The ambassador hopes to make some important contacts at the reception. "It will be im-



Punch Coomaraswamy.

possible to go into any detailed conversation, but I may learn some things to follow up during the rest of the week. You cease thinking about reboots as something you enjoy. They are a duty."

The hotel is crowded with ambassadors, security agents and past and present American politicians. Coomaraswamy warmly greets William Colby, former director of the CIA; Richard Allen, former national security adviser; and U. Alexis Johnson, former ambassador to Japan. He joins the other ASEAN ambassadors next to the podium.

"I'm being isolated," the ambassador says. "I can't speak to the people I want to speak to. There's Lyn Nofziger!" Later the ambassador manages to exchange views with former Senator Frank Church and with Bernard Kalb, a television correspondent who wants to buy a house in Coomaraswamy's neighborhood.

The ambassador also shakes hands with Richard L. Armitage, the Defense Department's deputy assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs, his most important contact.

Coomaraswamy and his wife retrieve their coats from the pile and hurry out to the waiting Mercedes. They are not done yet. The Australian deputy chief of mission expects them for a dinner in honor of the U.S. ambassador to Indonesia.

"There are no typical days in the life of an

ambassador," says Coomaraswamy on the way up Cleveland Avenue. "Some are just busier than others."

The Australian diplomat greets the Coomaraswamys warmly; the parlor fills with guests. Here the ambassador can neither exchange meaningful views nor obtain valuable information, but his presence is essential for maintaining goodwill and valuable acquaintances.

To an observer, the exercise seems largely inconsequential. Occasionally it seems that way to participants.

"In other countries," says a member of a midlevel embassy who was not invited to the Australian compound, "you attend functions with diplomats to learn things you cannot learn through other channels. But in Washington everything is available."

"Unless the ambassador from England, France, Germany or the Soviet Union, or a ranking State Department official, is invited to a function, that function is useless."

Ambassador Coomaraswamy would disagree. "An ambassador is needed to keep relations good between his country and the United States."

He sees the reporter to the door. The ambassador himself hopes to be home before midnight.

Will he then send a cable to Singapore? "Oh, no," he says. "No cable today."

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## Music's Avant-Garde: To the Rear, March

by Edward Rothstein

NEW YORK — When Pierre Boulez proclaimed, in 1952, using capital letters, "SCHOENBERG IS DEAD," he was not referring to the composer's actual physical demise the year before. His was an esthetic proclamation, a call to arms against what Boulez felt were the conservative forces that Arnold Schoenberg represented.

It is time, Boulez argued, to be more radical with serialism and atonality than its first practitioner ever was. "It is time to neutralize the setback," he wrote. The future needed still more progressive composition, less retrospection, more innovation. The avant-garde was ready to enter the new postwar era.

Boulez, of course, has not been alone during this century in issuing such proclamations. The history of 20th-century composition is partly found in such calls for musical progress. New techniques, new instruments and new esthetic theories have been invoked with each generation to help "advance" the art. These techniques of electronic or serial composition, as well as novel esthetic theories involving the political or religious purposes of art, may have had little effect on the musical experiences of the mainstream listeners, but that was only proof, a representative of the avant-garde might argue, of the retrograde character of the audiences.

But something has begun to change in recent years. It is beginning to appear that this vision of musical progress and the avant-garde may actually be quite outmoded and even a bit quaint. One is almost tempted to type out in capital letters "THE AVANT-GARDE IS DEAD" — because the traditional progressive notion of music that the 20th-century avant-garde represented is no longer tenable.

The two-week festival of new music presented this spring by the New York Philharmonic, which included 25 compositions written during the last 15 years, was, for example, the first major institutional acknowledgment that the "advanced" compositional world had somehow changed its direction.

The title of the festival — "Horizons '83: Since 1968, A New Romanticism?" — was, despite the hesitancy of the question mark, an assertion of what has been known for some time: that there has been a shift in musical composition in recent years, and that compositional styles once considered clichéd and retrograde — such as tonality — were back in favor.

While once the use of a tonic-dominant harmonic progression would have been considered heretical, it is now nearly common practice. While three decades ago, the European Darmstadt school of serial composition ruled with a severe, serial hand, now there is freedom to indulge in sentiment. Jacob Druckman, the artistic director of the festival, argued that this was part of a "rhythm in the progress of the arts," moving between an Apollonian Classical ideal and the Dionysian Romantic one.

But the contemporary changes are more complicated than just a swing away from rationalism and toward the emotional. The very meaning of "musical progress" has been called into question, and not just because several composers are looking back at musical history for inspiration.

The traditional "progressive" musical position, for example, called for the composer to be "ahead" of the bourgeois audience, a member of a vanguard; this position led, in part, to the contemporary split between the composer and the mainstream audience. Musical progress, it was argued, would eventually allow the listener to catch up.

At the time Boulez was writing his manifesto, the critic Nicolas Slonimsky supported this avant-garde perspective by compiling a fascinating collection of misguided "critical assaults" on great music of the past in his "Lexicon of Musical Invective."

He argued that Beethoven and Chopin and Brahms and Verdi were just as neglected by 19th-century audiences and rear-guard critics as contemporary composers; his argument was that these figures were, like contemporary composers, progressive, and that it takes time for such advanced music to become accepted. His "animating purpose" was to "demonstrate that music is an art in progress" just as science is. And that its time will come.

Yet, as the last 30 years have shown, "progress" has not been perceived by the general public; the 20th-century composer has a far less enthusiastic public than the popular 19th-century composer did in his time. And the contemporary audience itself, the mainstream audience, has long since lost the willingness to be interested or even shocked by "progressive" musical gestures of the avant-garde, having comfortably settled into the repertoire of the 19th century.

In the meantime, contemporary composers of differing schools have long since settled for their own audiences in miniature musical subcultures: there are the audiences for new academic music, audiences attracted to certain new-music performers, audiences for music influenced by primitive and folk music, audiences for performance art.

And just as there is no coherent audience in this splintered musical culture that can provide a foil to "progressive" music, there is also no confidence that technical innovations and esthetic positions can open up many new passages.

Composers' pronouncements are more tentative than they used to be; manifestos are rare, program notes focus on the achievements and techniques of an individual composition; there are few conflicting cliques fighting it out over musical territory. The use of the computer in musical composition — being explored, for example, by Boulez and the IRCAM in France — has some of the old aura of "advanced" research, but none of its provocative energy.

Even the political dimension of the avant-garde has become worn. Often, a belief in a particular political ideology has helped to define clearly what a progressive or retrograde esthetic position would be. The totalitarian governments of our century have even made this into something of a crude science. But even the philosopher Theodor Adorno, one of this century's most significant thinkers about music, preferred Schoenberg to Stravinsky partly because of the latter's supposed "retrograde" spirit.

Stravinsky, Adorno argued, effectively sold out, refusing to take on the difficult task of

Continued on page 9W



## TRAVEL

## INTERNATIONAL DATEBOOK

## AUSTRIA

**SALZBURG, Festival** (tel: 0622/425.41).  
**CONCERTS** — Aug. 27 and 28: Mozart Orchestra, Gerhard Wimmer conductor, Robert Holl bass, Heidemundt piano (Mozart).  
 Aug. 27: Tokyo String Quartet (Haydn, Berg, Beethoven).  
**OPERA** — Aug. 27: "Idomeneo" (Mozart) James Levine conductor.  
 Aug. 28: "Così fan tutte" (Mozart) Riccardo Muti conductor.  
 Aug. 29: "Der Rosenkavalier" (R. Strauss).

## BELGIUM

**BRUSSELS, Musée de l'Air** (tel: 513.90.90).  
**EXHIBITION** — To Sept. 18: "Two Centuries of Aeronautical History." GHENT, Vlaanderen Festival (tel: 091/25.77.80).  
**CONCERTS** — Sept. 1: Brussels National Opera Symphony Orchestra, Sylvain Cambreling conductor (Berlioz, Stravinsky).  
 Sept. 2: 20th-Century Ballet, Maurice Béjart conductor.

## DENMARK

**COPENHAGEN, Radio House** (tel: 13.45.31).  
 Aug. 29: Radio Light Orchestra and Choir, Jan Latham-Koenig conductor, Morten Zeuthen cello (Gudmundsen-Holmgreen, Abrahamsen, Nordheim).  
 Sept. 1: Concertgebouw Orchestra, Bernard Haitink conductor, Maria Ewing mezzo-soprano (Schoenberg, Mahler).  
 Sept. 5: Czech Philharmonic Orchestra, Jiří Belohlavský conductor, Kaia and Marielle Labèque pianos (Zemlin, Dvořák).  
 Sept. 8: Scottish National Or-

## ENGLAND

**LONDON, Barbican Centre** (tel: 628.87.95).  
 Barbican Theatre — Aug. 28-Sept. 3: "Much Ado About Nothing" (Shakespeare) Royal Shakespeare Company, The Pit — Aug. 29-Sept. 2: "Arden of Feversham" (Shakespeare) Royal Shakespeare Company.  
 London Coliseum (tel: 836.01.11).  
 English National Opera — Aug. 27, 31, Sept. 3, 8: "Don Giovanni" (Mozart) Peter Robinson conductor.  
 National Theatre (tel: 633.08.80).  
 Olivier Theatre — From Aug. 27: "Tales from Hollywood" (Hampton).  
 Royal Opera House (tel: 240.10.60).  
 To Sept. 3: New York City Ballet.  
 Victoria and Albert Museum (tel: 589.63.71).

**EXHIBITIONS** — To Sept. 11: "Nineteenth-Century Pressed Glass." To Sept. 11: "Pairings: The Florence Dag Collection." To Oct. 2: "Joseph Beuys: Drawings 1904-80."

## FRANCE

**PARIS, Centre Georges Pompidou** (tel: 277.12.33).  
**EXHIBITIONS** — To Sept. 12: "Bonjour Monsieur Monet." To Sept. 26: "Polish Art from the Lodz Museum." Festival Estival (tel: 225.22.55).  
 Eglise Saint Louis en l'Île — Aug. 29: Würzburg Cathedral Choir, Siegfried Koessler director (Lassus, Schütz, Mendelssohn, Bruckner).  
 Eglise Saint Séverin — Sept. 1: Quattro Orlando (Haydn).

## GREECE

**ATHENS, Herod Atticus Odeon** (tel: 322.31.11).  
 Aug. 27 and 28: Greece National Theatre.  
 Aug. 29 and 30: Moscow Symphony Orchestra, Dimitri Mitayenko conductor.  
 Epidauros Theater (tel: 322.31.11).  
 Aug. 28: "Lystra" (Aristophanes).

## HONG KONG

**HONG KONG, City Hall** (tel: 526.47.54).

## OF SPECIAL INTEREST

**EDINBURGH FESTIVAL**  
 EDINBURGH — The thirty-seventh Edinburgh International Festival which runs until September 10, includes:  
 • Ballet — Aug. 29-Sept. 3: Ballet Rambert.  
 • Concerts — Aug. 30: London Philharmonic Orchestra, Klaus Tennstedt conductor, Claudio Arrau piano (R. Strauss, Wagner, Weber, J. Strauss).  
 Sept. 1: Concertgebouw Orchestra, Bernard Haitink conductor, Maria Ewing mezzo-soprano (Schoenberg, Mahler).  
 Sept. 5: Czech Philharmonic Orchestra, Jiří Belohlavský conductor, Kaia and Marielle Labèque pianos (Zemlin, Dvořák).  
 Sept. 8: Scottish National Or-

• Musée de la Mode et du Costume (tel: 720.85.45).  
 To Oct. 30: "Fashions in Lace."

## GERMANY

**BERLIN, Deutsche Oper Berlin** (tel: 241.44.49).  
 OPERA — Aug. 28: "Carmen" (Bizet).  
 Hochschule der Künste (tel: 31.63.83).  
 Aug. 27 and 28: Berlin Symphony Orchestra, Michael Jenne conductor (Mozart).  
 FRANKFURT, Frankfurt USO (tel: 151.54.72).  
 Aug. 27: German-American Film Market.  
 Oper Frankfurt (tel: 2562.529).

chestra, Jesús López-Cobos conductor, Margaret Marshall soprano (Wagner, Bruckner).  
 • OPERA — Sept. 6 and 9: "The Postman Always Rings Twice" (Graham, Poulis) C. William Harwood conductor.  
 • RECITALS — Aug. 28: Pinchas Zukerman violin and viola, Marc Neikrug piano (Brahms).  
 Sept. 1: Shura Cherkasky piano (Bach, Brahms, Berg, Beethoven, Scriabin).  
 • THEATER — Aug. 30-Sept. 3: "Rosenkavalier" (Von Hofmannsthal) Citizens' Company, Glasgow.  
 Aug. 30-Sept. 1: "Donna Rosita, The Spinster" (Lorca) Nuria Espert Company, Spain.  
 For more information, telephone: 225.57.56.

## JAPAN

**TOKYO, Aurore Jazz Festival** (tel: 251.18.61).  
 Budokan — Sept. 1: Les Brown & His Orchestra.  
 Sept. 2: West Coast Giants, Art Blakey & All Star Jazz Messengers, Yokohama Stadium — Sept. 4: Joint Performance.  
 Tokyo National Museum (tel: 822.11.11).

**EXHIBITIONS** — To Sept. 11: "The Ancient Korean Arts: Quintessence of 1,000 Years of Silla." "The Sunken Treasures off the Sina Coast."

• Yamane Museum of Art (tel: 669.76.43).  
**EXHIBITION** — To Sept. 25: "Modern Japanese Paintings."

## NETHERLANDS

**AMSTERDAM, Concertgebouw** (tel: 71.98.71).  
**CONCERTS** — Aug. 28: Netherlands Blazers Ensemble (Rossini, Beethoven, Krommer, Kerling).  
 Aug. 29: Concertgebouw Orchestra, Bernard Haitink conductor, Maria Ewing mezzo-soprano (Schoenberg, Mahler).  
 RECITAL — Aug. 30: Rafael Orozco piano (Schubert, Liszt, Chopin).  
 • Nederlandse Theater Instituut (tel: 23.15.00).  
**EXHIBITION** — To Oct. 10: "History of Dutch Opera, 1772-1960."  
 • Rijksmuseum (tel: 73.21.21).  
**EXHIBITION** — To Sept. 19: "Dutch Watercolors of the 19th Century."

## SWITZERLAND

**ASCONA, International Festival** (tel: 093/35.55.44).  
 Aug. 29: Quatuor LaSalle.  
 Aug. 31: Pinchas Zukerman violin, Marc Neikrug piano.  
 GENEVA, Musée de l'Asie (tel: 23.75.66).  
**EXHIBITION** — To Sept. 27: "L'Univers des Nails."  
 Gstaad, Manuhin Festival (tel: 030/44.99.93).  
 Aug. 29: English Chamber Orchestra, Yehudi Menuhin conductor and violin (Bach, Beethoven, Mozart).

## UNITED STATES

**NEW YORK, Guggenheim Museum** (tel: 860.13.00).  
 To Sept. 11: "Acquisition Priorities: Aspects of Postwar Paintings in Europe."  
 Metropolitan Museum of Art (tel: 35.77.10).  
**EXHIBITIONS** — To Sept. 4: "Constable's England."  
 To Sept. 25: Henry Moore retrospective.

**WASHINGTON D.C., Freer** (tel: 357.37.00).  
 To Aug. 31: "Chinese Flower Paintings," hand and wall scrolls, album leaves from the 13th through 19th centuries.  
 Kennedy Center (tel: 254.37.70).  
**THEATER** — To Sept. 4: "Private Lives" (Coward) with Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton.  
 To Sept. 25: "American Buffalo" (Mamet) with Al Pacino.

## Restaurants: In Tivoli Gardens

by Patricia Wells

**COPENHAGEN** — Carefree, innocent and forthrightly old-fashioned, the flower-bedecked restaurants that trail through the Tivoli Gardens provide one of the calmer, more-placid dining spots in the world.

One's first impression is that life here stopped sometime during the 1950s, when piped mashed potatoes and puff-pastry shells shaped like half moons signified elegant French dining, and people dropped everything promptly at 3 each afternoon to sip cups of rich black coffee and swoon over rich, cream-filled cakes and pastries. In several days of wandering about this shaded pleasure garden, I never once saw a frown, not even a slightly furrowed brow. The Danes are so relaxed and unburied that even anxious travelers abandon their cars. It's got to be good for the digestion.

To many Danes, Tivoli is its restaurants, where Tuborg beer and Aalborg akavit flow freely, washing down portions of many-flavored herring, fresh local shrimp and hearty, delicious breads seasoned with cumin and caraway and slathered with salted Danish butter. The top dining rooms, Divan 1 (tel: 11.42.42), Divan 2 (tel: 12.51.51) and Belle Terrasse (tel: 12.11.36), serve as meeting places for businessmen, diplomats and politicians, while the café-like Grotten (tel: 12.11.25) is where the locals go to see and be seen during Tivoli's May-September season. Most of the restaurants accept credit cards and serve from around 11.30 A.M. until midnight. In the evening, reservations are recommended.

Danish families, as well as travelers, fill the tables each evening at the more-casual restaurants, among them Faergeløkken (tel: 11.65.21), where the terrace plunges right into the lake, Frøen (tel: 14.68.15), where American-style spare ribs are a specialty, and Belkønen (tel: 11.27.85), an all-you-can-eat spot with special children's menus. You can even bring your own picnic and sit lakeside under the awnings of Søstene (tel: 15.91.02), where the air rings with hearty Danish laughter, jokes and good times.

Spending a little time at Tivoli and you're soon convinced that what the Danes do between meals is eat. Soft ice is the omnipresent snack, milky white ice cream that tumbles out of an oversized wafer cone. But visitors can also amuse their palates with foodstuffs of local, roasted peanuts in the shell, clouds of pale pink candy floss and waffles mounded with stiffly whipped cream. One kiosk also offers a healthier assortment of apples, raisins and orange juice, but that's obviously just for show.

For those who prefer to snack sitting down, the place to go is Kiosket (tel: 11.45.09), a summer garden kiosk that sums up the magic of Tivoli. The hexagonal dining room, sprinkled with white daisies, is enveloped in a pale blue haze. Window boxes filled with blue and white petunias edge the garden, and bright-faced, young waitresses wait about in crisp blue and white aprons.

For the last three years the café has been run by Copenhagen's best-known pastry chef, Gert Sørensen. Those who get to Tivoli before it closes for the season on Sept. 18 will have a chance to catch a glimpse of what's left of the world's tallest wedding cake, baked in May for the wedding of a wealthy local businessman. The basically white cake, constructed in an airplane hangar over a 10-day period, will appear in the next Guinness Book of World Records. Before 1,200 slices were cut from the bottom layer, the cake stood more than 12 yards high.

Koudstoe is one of the best people-watching spots in Tivoli. At 3 P.M. the café fills up with smiling gray-haired women trying to choose from among 40 or 50 decadently rich Danish desserts. There are almond-topped croissants, white butter cakes filled with chocolate and cream, jewel-like fruit tarts garnished with fresh mint, and 20 flavors of ice cream, ranging from coconut to fresh blueberry.



But what about serious eating? As many Danes do, I'd select Divan 1 for dining with a group of friends. Divan 2 for a business meal, and save Belle Terrasse for a romantic late-night dinner for two. You won't feel like a tourist at any of them, for Danes make up 80 percent of the clientele. Each features a wide range of French and Danish dishes and offers both simple snacks or lengthy multi-course meals. All have flower-filled terraces and cheery interior dining rooms, a definite necessity, since Copenhagen's weather allows only a 50-50 chance of dining outdoors. Prices range from moderate to expensive. Satisfying, single-course meals can be had for 100 kroner (about \$10) a person, though a complete meal, with wine, will cost about 600 kroner.

The two Divans — still often confused by regulars of 20 years, who reserve at one, then show up at the other — date to the garden's establishment in 1843. Divan 1 has more fresh flowers than any Tivoli dining spot, and is also the least pretentious of the top three restaurants. Since the 1920s it has been in the hands of the Petersen family, an outgoing crew.

Families return to Divan 1 generation after generation, celebrating birthdays and anniversaries in this large but still intimate terrace decorated in yellow, green and pink. The owner, Jørgen Petersen, and his daughter, Lone Kister Holm, were both raised in Tivoli, so they have a soft spot for the hundreds of retired folks who all live in the gardens during the season.

"I love to watch the old ladies queue up at the gate before Tivoli opens at 10," says Holm. "Behind the gate, they're old folks. But once inside, they run, they race like children." The object of their affection is not the rides, but the slot machines, which they attack with a fervor for hours on end. They don't have sufficient income to dine at the expensive restaurants, but they come to places like Divan 1 for afternoon cake and coffee, remembering childhood visits.

"They're so incredibly attached to Tivoli," Holm explains with awe. "When the park closes in September, they fill a clay pot with soil from the park, and nurture flowers in it all winter long. It's a way to keep Tivoli alive during the long winter months. Then, on opening day, they bring the dirt back, so they haven't stolen anything."

Over the years, Petersen has seen changes in his clients' food habits. Danes are eating more fish and less meat, and travelers, particularly Americans, are drinking more French wine.

If it's on the menu that day, order Denmark's famous tiny fresh pink shrimp. The delicate fished shrimp (not to be confused with Greenland's frozen variety) are boiled quickly in salted water, then peeled by hand. It takes an experienced peeler about 10 minutes to shell about half a cup of shrimp, which will no doubt be eaten in about 2 minutes flat. At Divan 1 they're served out of elegant silver pots, and placed on thickly buttered slices of fresh white bread. No seasoning, no lemon and definitely no ketchup.

Divan 2, perhaps the most formal of Tivoli's restaurants, is also the celebrity dining spot. In the last few years, Queen Elizabeth II, Jimmy Carter, Henry Kissinger and Indira Gandhi have all dined there, ordering from an imaginative, professional menu that includes Danish herring, fished shrimp, cured Baltic salmon and an astonishing variety of game. Not to be missed is the lobster and fresh artichoke appetizer, followed by a tender breast of wild duck, garnished with golden yellow cloudberries. The wine list — expensive, small, but well-chosen — is the best in Tivoli.

Belle Terrasse overlooks Tivoli's soothing little lake, and one dines beneath elm trees and weeping willows, selecting from a menu that includes charcoal-grilled meat and fish specialties, cured salmon and juniper-smoked ham. For lighter luncheon fare, sample the herring assortment. It's big enough to feed a small army, or at least a regiment, and includes five kinds of herring served with a garnish of dill, capers, rings of red onions and four kinds of superb, fresh bread. The best herring in the lot are the rollmops, delicate, tender rolls of cured, then cooked, fish filled with coarsely ground pepper and freshly minced white onion.

Do as the Danes do and order a bottle of Danish beer and a thimbleful of akavit. Although every Dane will tell you the only way to drink akavit is to down it in one serious gulp, they don't demand the same of themselves. So don't be intimidated if you, like they, really prefer to sip.

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## WEEKEND

## HOLIDAY &amp; TRAVEL

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## Tanzania's Once-Troubled Waters

**DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania** — Almost obscured by jungle growth in crocodile-infested swamps, the wrecked German cruiser Königsberg, navy a Tanzanian tourist attraction, lies where it was crippled by British ships in 1915.

On occasional Sundays a light private plane heads south from Dar es Salaam along the Indian Ocean coast to give sightseers a view of the old vessel. Banking lazily about 100 kilometers (60 miles) south of the Tanzanian capital, the plane reduces speed and flies low over the Rufiji estuary, hoping to give its camera-laden passengers a glimpse of the cruiser that preyed on Allied shipping during World War I.

The Königsberg created havoc for many months in the Indian Ocean until it was cornered by a British fleet far up the Rufiji. Not having the German vessel's shallow draft, the British ships were unable to follow it up the estuary. The British ships waited eight months for the Königsberg but were needed elsewhere and the Royal Navy decided to recruit Pieter Pretorius, a 42-year-old South African white hunter, to chart the estuary clandestinely in a dugout canoe.

Aided by his charts, the British sent home for two shallow-bottomed

gunboats, which ventured up the estuary, found the Königsberg half-beached and finally crippled her.

The Königsberg chase is only one of several naval incidents that took place when Tanzania — then called Tanganyika — was part of German East Africa. Another incident, which occurred to the west on Lake Tanganyika, inspired the C.S. Forester novel that became the film "The African Queen," starring Katharine Hepburn and Humphrey Bogart.

The real hero of the adventure was Lieutenant-Commander Geoffrey Spicer-Simpson, who had been languishing at the London Admiralty. He was plucked from his office, given command of two launches and ordered to clear Lake Tanganyika of German warships, which he did, except for the flagship Goetzen.

The Goetzen, which was later scuttled, was raised after the war and today sails as a lake steamer. With some Gothic towers on Dar es Salaam's port, it is one of the few reminders of a once-huge German empire in Africa.

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## WEEKEND

## HOLIDAY &amp; TRAVEL

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## TRAVEL

## The Cockney's Bellwether

by Ellen Wallace

LONDON—Gus Wiegand loves a chance to pop his favorite list on the fool who believes the myth that Cockneys are not very bright: "Johnnie Milton, Tommy More, Tom Becket, Sam Pappys, Bill Penn, Keats, Byron, Blake, Mill, Chaucer..."

Movies, he says, especially "My Fair Lady" and war films, have been unkind to Cockneys in the last 50 years.

Wiegand is a bespectacled, voluble man of indeterminate age who looks as if he could have just walked out of a favorite pub or Christopher Wren church; he regularly does both. In addition to Cockneys, the other topic Wiegand gets excited about is Bow Church, St. Mary-le-Bow Church, to use its formal name (which nobody does), in the heart of London and this summer it is celebrating its 300th anniversary.

Let there be any doubt, Wiegand is a true Cockney. "The definition of a Cockney is that he has to have been born within the sound of Bow Bells," he says. Bow Bells are beloved by all Cockneys, but Wiegand's interest is special—he is the "custodian" or custodian-historian-archivist, for St. Mary-le-Bow.

Cockneys are a scarce breed in London these days—maybe 200 to 300 of them, Wiegand says. He offers a quick reminder: London as it is commonly known is actually made up of two towns, Westminster and the one-square-mile City of London, to which he is referring. During World War II many houses in the City were demolished and, after the war, high real-estate prices made it impossible to rebuild anything but offices in the bustling financial center. Reconstruction was thus accompanied by an exodus of Cockneys to the East End.

There are many misconceptions about Cockneys, according to Wiegand. "People are always stopping by and saying, 'Speak some Cockney'—a lot of people believe it's a separate language, like Welsh. Or that we all drop our 'h's. But an educated Cockney speaks the Queen's English perfectly well—he has the 'h' knocked into him at school."

Cockneys prefer to talk about what they are: "Their great characteristics are a tremendous obstinacy and great sense of humor," says Wiegand, who recalls that during the war the Cockneys gained a reputation for bravery. "We're not braver than anyone else—we were just too obstinate to admit we were being bombed. You'd go into a pub and see a sign up near the bartender: 'This pub will remain open during air raids—but in case of a direct hit you will stop serving at once.'"

Their two other outstanding trademarks are a fierce monarchism and a strong love for the shellfish found downriver from London; they claim to be the inventors of fish and chips.

The Cockney's name goes back to medieval times, when the City of London was surrounded by a wall; at night the gates were drawn up and it became an impenetrable fortress. During the day people from outlying villages came into the city to sell their wares and, frequently waylaid by highway robbers, teased the city people about being safe inside their walls. The less than complimentary tag they found for the cityfolk was cock's says—"says" being an old English word for eggs—with the implication that the Londoners never strayed from their nest.

When William the Conqueror arrived in London, according to Wiegand, he took one look at the narrow streets, whose walls could be touched with outstretched arms, and the houses made of wood. "And he said some idiot is going to knock over a candle one of these days." The wonder is that it took 600 years for such a fire to occur. The delay might have been due to William's foresight: he passed a law that at 8 P.M. all residents had to put out their candles and risk their fires.

Historians guess that signaling this fire-out was the original use of the Bow Church's bells and that it quickly extended to the curfew at night when the city gates were closed.

The conquerors also gave Bow Church its name, which derives from the Norman arches, or bows as they were called, that distinguished the stone church the Normans built in 1087 to win over the defeated residents.

Bow Church's role was special not only because its bells could be heard within the city's limits but because it was on Chepe Street ("chepe" is an old English word for market). The market street was the only one wide enough to hold a crowd, which meant that any public gathering was held in front of the church and its rooms were often used for meetings. It also meant that any time royalty came into the city they went down Chepe Street and met the public in front of Bow Church, a tradition maintained today.

The street names in the City still bear witness to the small trades and markets that thrived then (Threadneedle Street, Pudding Lane, Bread Street).

The Great Fire roared through these tiny streets early one September morning in 1666, killing few but leaving only a fifth of the buildings standing. Christopher Wren then went to work, designing 51 churches, of which 23 are still standing, for the City of London. St. Mary-le-Bow was one he reconstructed.

During this period, says Wiegand, the majority of Cockneys were poor and illiterate. They were often thrown in paupers' prison and, to prevent their jailers knowing what they were talking about, created a jargon of their own. Hence the notion that the Cockney speaks a separate language.

What he does, Wiegand says, "is use a very picturesque kind of slang, a rhyming slang. For instance, he might want to say 'road,' so he finds a pair of words whose last part rhymes with it—frog and toad—to replace it. But then he often takes it one step further and drops the rhyming part so he ends up with 'I was walking along the frog.'"



St. Mary-le-Bow.

Wiegand explains that some phrases are commonly used and simply learned, but much is ad lib. In either case, it is baffling for the non-Cockney. Wiegand offers another example: "Two men are sitting in a pub, and one says 'Look at the Richard at the end of the Cain.' 'Chances are that the woman sitting at the end of the table does not know that they mean Richard, as in Richard III, which rhymes with bird—singing for an attractive woman—and Cain and Abel, which rhymes with table.'"

The city's curfew ended in 1867, and with it the strong influence of Bow Church, although the bells rang at 9 P.M. until 1874. With virtually no parishioners left within its boundaries, the church is open only during the week now, to serve the needs of people who work in the financial district that makes up the City of London. There is a small, nondescript chapel in the crypt, which houses the original Norman arches; but it is also used for community meetings and events. The bells, rung regularly, are electronically timed, which reduces the sound. But they are still rung manually—and are about 10 times as loud—for such special occasions as weddings and christenings. And once a month, the Ancient Society of College Youths climbs the bell tower and rings away, just for practice.

The Cockney, too, has survived. Wiegand has visitors stopping in every week who tell him where they were born to see if they qualify as real Cockneys; if they don't they are always disappointed, he says. "Now, everybody loves a Cockney. I guess it's a question of supply and demand."

St. Mary-le-Bow Church, Cheapside, City of London. Church and crypt are open weekdays from 9 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. Summer events include musical performances, drama and a photographic display, as well as bell-ringing.

## In California, a New Gold Rush

by Robert Lindsey

ANGELS CAMP, California—You rock the pan slowly with your palms, rotating it back and forth. The icy water from the stream sluices over the side, your head fills with the aroma of nearby pine trees, and you scan the bottom of the pan, looking for the elusive sparkle in the sand that locals call "color."

A new boom is rocking the Gold Country, a 300-mile strip along the western foothills of the High Sierra mountain range. Urbanites from Los Angeles and San Jose, New York and Philadelphia, tired of traffic jams and sooty air, are staking their claims on one of the most pleasant, least-spoiled corners of America. Old mining towns like Yankee Jim, Rough and Ready, Fiddletown and Chinese Camp are coming back to life, and there is a new sense of appreciation for the heritage of the Gold Rush.

In Sacramento, 70 miles (112 kilometers) southwest of Nevada City, where most of the miners provisioned themselves and set off on their quest for gold, dozens of old buildings from the era have been restored and turned into a new recreational area called Old Sacramento.

In the Gold Country itself, old towns and mines of the Gold Rush are being restored by the state, and the process of rebirth is being pushed along by many of the emigrants from the cities, who are rehabilitating old stone and brick and wood buildings and turning the lights on again in the ghost towns of the Mother Lode. Homes that once sheltered successful miners and merchants (and not a few bordellos) have been restored, furnished with antiques and turned into bed-and-breakfast inns.

True to the Gold Rush tradition that any mining town worth its salt had to have its own opera house, some communities in the new Gold Country offer sophisticated theatrical and classical music productions. Antique shops line the roads of many of the Gold Country towns. Instead of beans and hardback travelers can find a wide range of restaurants.

Travelers have a choice of approaching the Gold Country from the south, perhaps after a visit to Yosemite National Park; from the north and west via San Francisco and Sacramento, or from the east via Lake Tahoe and Nevada.

Visitors who are pressed for time may choose to explore only one or two of the old mining towns that drift down hillsides or are tucked into green valleys of the Gold Country, and this can be accomplished in less than a day. One will find more than enough to do in a week during which they sample the lures of the region. Three or four days is probably ample for a tour that is more than superficial.

Although snow falls in the higher altitudes in winter, and temperatures at lower altitudes occasionally exceed 100 degrees Fahrenheit (38 degrees centigrade) in summer, no season is inappropriate for a trip. Late spring and early summer are especially pleasant times. While the rivers and lakes are still too cold for swimming, the chilly waters rolling off the snowpack of the High Sierras are filling the dry creek beds and raising the hopes of amateur gold panners that perhaps a few licks of gold, or even a nugget, washed down from the mountains will join up with them from their pans.

The spine of the Gold Country is California State Route 49. Named for the gold-seeking argonauts who followed the route more than a century ago, the highway runs northward for 318 miles from the foothills town of Oakhurst near Yosemite to Vinton near the Nevada border.

Many visitors, especially those whose time is limited, concentrate on a 100-mile stretch of Highway 49 between the towns of Nevada City in the north and Sonoma in the south. This route roughly parallels the richest part of a gold-laden vein of ore that early Mexican miners called "La Veta Madre," the Mother Lode, although historians refer to the northern portion of the gold deposits as a separate area, the Northern Mines.

In all, about 500 mining towns were born in the foothills of the Sierra between 1848 and 1860, usually near the site of a promising gold strike. At first, they were no more than camps, then a tent village, then perhaps a collection of wooden huts that survived until the gold ran out or, as often happened, a fire ravaged it and everybody left. Fewer than half of the towns survived, and most are populated sparsely now. In some of the Gold Rush towns, the only things left are a few stone and brick buildings in disrepair. In others there are well-preserved and restored hotels, stores and homes.

With a good map and guidebook, it is easy to find many of the old towns and retraces an important part of California history. Those infected by the bug that fired the '49ers can park the car, walk to a stream and try their luck at gold-panning. A favorite saying of people here is: "There's gold in them thar hills—still."

For visitors beginning their trip in the north, via Sacramento, a good place to start is Co-

loma, about an hour's drive from the capital. The Gold Rush started in Coloma on Jan. 24, 1848, at a sawmill—Sutter's Mill—on the American River. There, James W. Wicks found a few flakes of gold and touched off an international migration to California that hastened the colonization of the West and helped shape the future of the United States.

Within a year of Marshall's discovery, Coloma's tiny population had grown to 10,000 and it had become one of the most famous towns in the world. Coloma is a village again, inhabited by a few hundred people, many of them recent immigrants from the cities. The cabin where Marshall lived and several original stone buildings, which are marked and now part of a state park, still stand.

No one knows how many people gave up their jobs, left their families and headed for California to strike it rich. According to some estimates, the number was at least 300,000. Most of the initial immigrants, like visitors today, swirled the sand and gravel in their pans until the heaviest material—gold, if any was there—settled to the bottom.

In 1848 and 1849, Gold Rush lore has it, the prospectors stuck their shovel into a river bottom, dumped the gravel in a pan and found

A new boom is rocking the Gold Country, a 300-mile strip along the western foothills of the High Sierra mountain range in California. Old mining towns like Yankee Jim, Rough and Ready, Fiddletown and Chinese Camp are coming back to life, and there is a new sense of appreciation for the heritage of the Gold Rush.

more gold than gravel. But as more miners arrived, the easiest pickings were soon depleted and more elaborate means to recover the gold were introduced: Miners began to build sluices to screen the sand and gravel in the river and, later, high-pressure hoses, dredging machines and conventional subterranean "hard-rock" mining methods were introduced.

Nevada City, a town of 2,400 about 45 miles north of Coloma, along with nearby Grass Valley, was the setting for some of the most successful hard-rock operations.

Nevada City is one of the best preserved of the northern Gold Rush towns and is also one of the most appealing examples of how the new migration of people from the cities is breathing life into the region.

To many first-time visitors it comes as a surprise, as they approach Nevada City, to turn on the car radio and hear a community-sponsored, non-commercial FM radio station, KVMR, which plays largely classical music. Almost as surprising are broadsides pasted up around town advertising chamber music and a wide range of theatrical productions. Some are staged in the Nevada Theater on Broad Street where, more than a century ago, two darlings of the Gold Rush, Lotta Crabtree and Lola Montez, performed. (For schedule information, tel: 916-265-6111.)

Nearby, in a century-old foundry, the American Victorian Museum (tel: 916-265-5804), 325 Spring Street, contains a collection of Victorian memorabilia, a theater and a first-rate restaurant. (The Sunday brunch, a huge buffet of salads and hot dishes for \$7.50, served to live music, is especially recommended.) Dominated by soaring stone walls, rough-hewn wooden beams, ornate chandeliers from a church in England and an abundance of ferns and other plants, the museum houses a wide range of artifacts brought to Nevada City around the turn of the century by subjects of Queen Victoria who came to work the mines.

A local group, the Foothill Theater Company, offers an ambitious schedule of productions the year around in the museum (tel: 916-265-5804 for information).

Asked how a small town is able to support such enterprises, David Osborn, a San Francisco man who moved to Nevada City in 1957 and, with a partner, restored the old foundry, said that tourists made up part of the market, but that the recent urban migration to the Sierra foothills and the establishment of electronics

manufacturing companies in the region, provided the largest portion of customers.

The Nevada City Chamber of Commerce, 132 Main Street, gives visitors a helpful free guide to explore the community. Aside from the curiously incongruous Nevada County Courthouse, a huge Art Deco 1937 building, the city offers outstanding examples of Gold Rush architecture, from miners' homes to scores of wooden frame houses reminiscent of New England, to California's oldest continuously operating hotel, the richly detailed National Hotel, built in 1854.

Like its neighbor, Grass Valley, Nevada City became the adopted home of tens of thousands of Cornish miners imported to America to work the deep mines nearby, and these buildings are part of the heritage they left. If you get hungry, you can sample another part of the heritage, Cornish pasties (pronounced pasties), a hearty turnover stuffed with meat and potatoes that the Cornish miners took down with them for lunch. Marshall's, a shop at 203 Mill Street in Grass Valley, offers beef, turkey and chicken pasties, all for less than \$2.

A few miles from Grass Valley, the Empire Mine, one of the richest of the hard-rock mines, which produced almost 6 million ounces of gold between 1850 and 1956, is now a state park, and the 50-cent admission fee is a bargain. There's a small museum, and guides offer tours of the surface portions of the mine.

After seeing Coloma and Nevada City, visitors have a choice of scores of towns in the southern part of the Mother Lode. Eight miles from Coloma is Placerville, nee "Hangtown," its name during the Gold Rush when local lawmen found it necessary to deal summarily with misbehavior.

Placerville is one of the fastest-growing cities in California, and its narrow streets, which were designed for pack mules and stagecoaches, frequently become congested with cars and pickup trucks. It has become the mercantile center of the Gold Country's mid-section, where many of the people who have settled in places like Coloma, Shingle Springs and Georgetown do their shopping. Placerville has also become a commuter town, serving as a home for workers in Sacramento.

Placerville may be the only city in America that operates its own gold mine as a community park. Situated a mile from town on Bedford Avenue is the Gold Bug Mine.

South of Placerville are numerous old mining communities worth a visit, such as Angels Camp, Sutter Creek, Volcano, Murphys, Mokelumne Hill and Columbia.

Mark Twain, in "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County," made Angels Camp one of the best known of the mining camps. Bret Harte is said to have based his story, "The Luck of Roaring Camp," there, too. These days, Angels Camp is booming again, a result of the land rush to the foothills.

Several interesting buildings remain from the early days, including the Angels Hotel, where Twain is said to have first heard about jumping frogs, and a jailhouse behind it. But Angels Camp also has a Victorian atmosphere, which is evidence of its evolution toward the end of the 19th century into a prosperous town that survived the Gold Rush.

Each May, thousands of people visit Angels Camp for the Calaveras County Fair, hundreds of them with a frog to enter in an annual frog-jumping contest that keeps alive the tradition started in Twain's fictional account of miners betting gold dust over whose frog could jump farther.

In Murphys, Mokelumne Hill, Volcano and Sutter Creek, a variety of interesting buildings have survived since the Gold Rush, but the finest example of a Mother Lode town is Columbia, a few miles from Angels Camp. Operated by the State of California as a park, Columbia has been painstakingly rebuilt to look as it was in the 1850s.

Although the state has not tried to reconstruct the 30 saloons, 143 gambling palaces and dozens of fandango parlors that, according to historians, prospered during Columbia's heyday, dozens of buildings have been restored and reconstructed. To enhance the experience of touring Columbia, automobiles are banned from much of the town.

The visitor walking through the tree-shaded heart of Columbia can step back in time, order a sarsaparilla at the old Douglas Saloon, pretend he is a '49er buying a stagecoach ticket at the Wells Fargo office, or tour the beautifully rebuilt Fallon House hotel-theater, where Edwin Booth and Lola Montez entranced audiences of bearded men in baggy pants, and otherwise imagine what it was like to live there 130 years ago, when miners brought about panning a pound of gold in a single day.

Park rangers give a guide for a 90-minute walking tour around the town. Beside the restored buildings, there are a museum and other exhibits, gold-panning demonstrations and stage coach rides for children. Columbia is the best single place to learn about Gold Rush architecture and something about the lives of the people who went West to strike it rich.

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## Clothes Make the Child

by Vicky Elliott

PARIS—Good taste is something they learn early in Paris: one feels sure that parents punch dress codes into their children's minds long before they reach the age of 7.

But an exhibition at the children's section of the Musée d'Art Moderne, titled "Les Mythes de Nos Nippes," (The Myths of Our Clothes) throws fashion to the winds, scattering a rag-bag of provocative images.

The show ranges beyond its self-appointed theme of "Fashion and Children, 1883-2083," to inquire about the distinctions that clothes build between sexes, between generations, between classes. After all, children are the first to be duped: experiments have shown that they learn first to distinguish between the sexes because of what they wear. A brother in a dress becomes a woman.

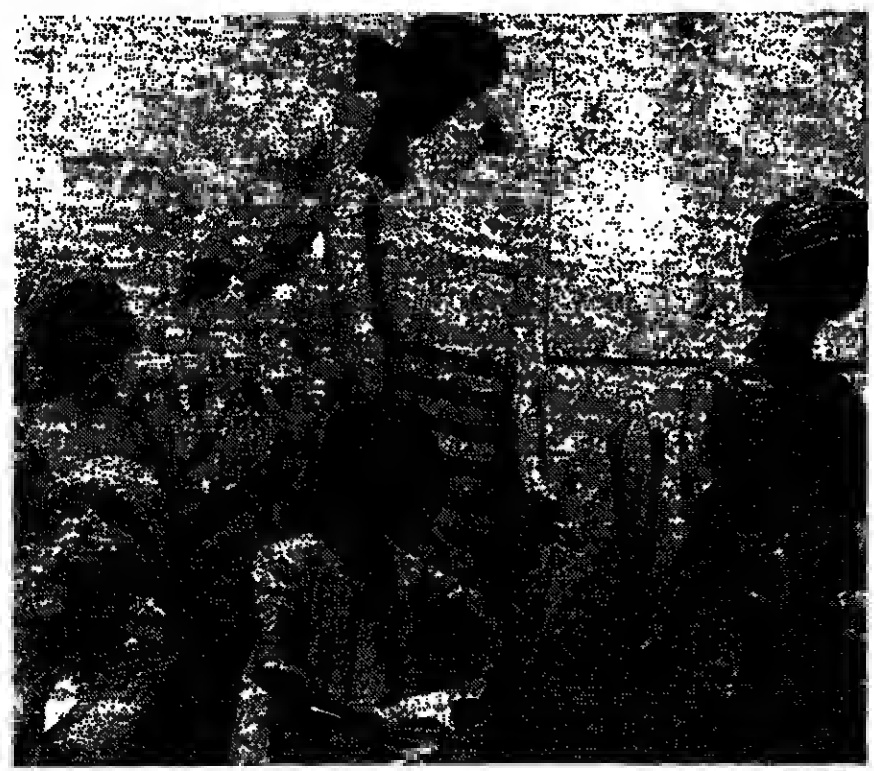
The show's organizer, Carol Mann, half-French, half-Romanian, English-educated and a historian of costume, has managed to put into visual terms the kind of thing that the French philosopher Roland Barthes had in mind when he wrote "The Fashion System": how clothes signify and reinforce differences in the social fabric.

The conservative Le Figaro called the show "sadly partisan" and obviously found its eclecticism profoundly un-French. Mann, drawing on documents and costume from all over Europe, points up the political significance of clothes as the basic manifestation of civilization. "The first piece of clothing or jewelry," she writes in the catalog to the show, "marks the newborn baby's passage from nature into culture."

Mann wanted to shed the elitist approach that she sees in many costume museums. "Nothing here has been chosen because it's beautiful," she said recently, amply draped herself under the draped tent that opens the show, "but because it is typical of its time."

Under that slogan, she has pulled together the everyday and the original, from mainstream and counterculture, in a series of theatrical decoors. Thrown into the mixture are tableaux with 19th-century lace and whale-bone corsets, spooks of the spiky figures who inhabit the sidewalks of London, slides of turn-haired maiden-mothers on Nazi propaganda posters, a 1950s jukebox bar and samples of today's modish tatters.

Members of the vanguard of Paris designers sent models and hazy sketches imagining children's wear of the year 2000: Jean Paul Gaultier, for the 5-10 age group, slyly suggests old black bra, fishnet stockings and a girle. A children's workshop organized at the museum produced a catwalk of extravagant fancy dress



for the opening day, which was photographed for the exhibition: a Chinese princess, a clanging armor of tin cans and a banana boy encased in a cylinder of brown-and-yellow subway tickets.

Sculptors and artists were enlisted to complete the displays. Mann says she felt like a Renaissance pope commissioning Bernini, except that she sometimes feels like Bernini as well. What she would really love to do is direct an opera. Inevitably, there were a few contretemps.

The designer Thierry Mugler complained that his orange space-dress was displayed like a scarecrow and took it away. (It left room for a superb russet Elizabethan crotaline created by Alexandre Vassiliev, a young Russian stage designer who also contributed a number of 1920s Soviet frocks that he rescued from the Moscow garbage collector, one constructed out of the habit of a priest.)

The Paris Town Hall, officially sponsoring the show, was also put out, when, beside the slide show of wartime posters, it came upon a portrait of Marshal Petain, standard equipment for a Vichy classroom and borrowed from the Education Ministry. Petain, it was

ordered, should come down. Meanwhile, the slide show continues, including the girl and her doll, learning a role, with the Vichy caption: "Now a Game: Later a Mission," and the little school overalls sewn with yellow stars.

"Fashion is about distinguishing people," says Mann, who doesn't care about hemlines, "and the next step is discriminating against them." She is as vehement about the children who worked in mines while their betters dressed up in sailor suits, as she is about the three-year-olds today whose mothers bundle them off on their own to star in advertising photos in Tunisia.

One wonders whether the tiny Parisian will learn the lesson. When children enter the exhibit, they can poke their faces through wooden cutouts and look at themselves in a mirror opposite, transmogrified into punk, pirate, matchbox or clown. But all the girls, Mann says, prefer the fairy-tale princess, floating with frills and ribbons.

"Les Mythes de Nos Nippes" at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris (entrance on the Avenue de New York), runs until December from 10 A.M. to 6 P.M.

## Music's Avant-Garde

Continued from page 7W

exposing the alienation of the individual in capitalist society, and thus disappointing Adorno's own Marxist preferences.

Many Western intellectuals have made similar identifications between aesthetic sophistication and a challenge to conservative political ideas. But in the history of "advanced" political art in our century, radical politics has also often gone along with an aesthetic barrenness and simplicity similar to Socialist Realism in the Soviet Union.

The composer Cornelius Cardew turned out toward the end of his life some remarkably banal songs based on the teachings of Mao, just after calling for "progressive ideas": "The ideology of a ruling class is present in its art implicitly; the ideology of a revolutionary class must be expressed in its art explicitly. Progressive ideas must shine like a bright light into the dusty cobwebs of bourgeois ideology in the avant-garde."

Nowadays, then, when a political ideology is a composer's guiding force—as socialism has been for such composers as Hans Werner Henze, Luigi Nono or Henri Pousseur—it is not so clear any more just how that "progressive" political stance can be translated into music and retain a "progressive" aesthetic position.

So, the avant-garde seems weakened on all fronts: the opposition to the audience has settled into a cease-fire; the advancement of technique has ended in pluralistic experimentation, and the attempt to unite "advanced" politics with "advanced" aesthetics has backfired or become dubious.

Of course, the works of earlier "avant-gardes" continue to be performed. There are presentations of works by John Cage, for example, a celebration of the poetry and music of Jackson MacLow, and performances of works that grow out of this iconoclastic American avant-garde—I recently heard a new work, for example, that involved hitting a Chinese gong in different ways for about a half hour. But these avant-garde explorations have now become slightly respectful to their heritage, sometimes amusing, sometimes artful, nearly always familiar.

What other "avant-garde" works we have are hardly "avant-garde" in the traditional sense. As Hilton Kramer, the editor of The New Criterion, has argued, such ideological positions have actually become incorporated into the mainstream rather than being perceived as daring or "advanced."

And the artists themselves often attempt not to shock the bourgeoisie but to reinforce views already firmly established in their "advanced"

audiences. And they do so largely through entertainment rather than challenge.

In the absence of a particular governing orthodoxy for composers, and in the absence of any unified direction for music, it becomes difficult to decide just where "progressive" or "advanced" aesthetic positions might lie. This has caused some problems. Both Druckman, the director of the New York Philharmonic's festival, and Thomas Willis, a professor of music at Northwestern University, in their essays in the festival's program magazine, argued that this New Romanticism actually arose out of what Willis calls the "exceptionally creative" 1960s, and represented a progressive renaissance of sorts.

Willis's arguments, in particular, echo such familiar countercultural mythologizing as in Charles Reich's "The Greening of America." He even referred to the "Age of Aquarius" and the "reawakened consciousness" of the age, arguing that something like a greening of music has occurred, in opposition to the dehumanizing forces of technology.

Yet, this is hardly convincing. The counterculture itself did not, for example, result in highly creative composition. In fact, some of the most important works of the last decade—works by Elliott Carter or by Peter Maxwell Davies—have little to do with countercultural ideas.

It seems, then, that the familiar ways of thinking about artistic movements—"progressive," "conservative," "retrograde" or "advanced"—have not yet breathed their last and still exert some pressure. The announcement of the death of the avant-garde and its progressive stance may even be a bit premature. At a symposium of the Philharmonic Festival, for example, a challenge was raised to the festival's racial and sexual demographics—neither of which, of course, provides relevant criteria for judging music, but both of which mark a consciousness of "progressive" social policy. And various claqueurs could comment on the music at the concerts by inserting a few bows when the musical direction seemed too retrograde or too advanced.

But if we are indeed at a point now when the notion of musical progress needs to be revised, when questions about whether a composition is retrograde or advanced have become relatively meaningless, and when the avant-garde as it has come to be known in this century no longer exists, then other ways of thinking and listening to music may begin to show themselves. In other words, it may be time for something new.

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## Thursday's AMEX Closing

TOKYO — Fujitsu Ltd. revised upward its parent company after-tax profit forecast Thursday for the year ending March 31 to a record 43 billion yen (\$177 million), from the earlier estimate of 38 billion yen.

Fujitsu's parent company after-tax profit was 37.53 billion yen last year.

Vice President Yuldicoro Koide said the company also revised upward this year's sales forecast to 960 billion yen from the earlier 900 billion, compared with 896.77 billion a year earlier. He attributed the revision to a rise in demand for the company's personal computers.

Fujitsu said it would increase its dividend payment for the year to 7.50 yen, from 6.50 last year. The company plans no bonus issue this year, following the 1-for-20 issue in May, a company spokesman said.

often a judgment call," he said. The FCC order comes at a time when the industry was only interested in acquiring the physical pork bellies.

[illegible]











## SPORTS

## Cubs' Rainey Shuts Out Reds After Squandering No-Hitter

CHICAGO — Chuck Rainey came within one out of pitching the "Chicago Cubs" first no-hitter in nearly 11 years on Wednesday but had to settle for a one-hit, 3-0 victory over the Cincinnati Reds at Wrigley Field.

"I never thought I was going to get the no-hitter, not even with two

## BASEBALL ROUNDUP

outs in the ninth," said Rainey (13-10). "I wouldn't have thought I'd had it until I had it."

Eddie Milner singled with two out in the ninth inning to frustrate Rainey and a cheering crowd of 17,552.

Milner, a .270 hitter with a history for spoiling no-hitters, took great satisfaction in ruining Rainey's gem.

"I've never been on a team that has been no-hit and I don't intend to be," said Milner, who drew the leadoff walk in the seventh that spoiled Rainey's perfect game. "If I had struck out or flied out, my teammates would have wanted to fight me."

Milner lined Rainey's first pitch into center field for a clean hit. Rainey, 29, walked off the mound, composed himself and got Duane Walker to end the game by popping out to shortstop Larry Bowa.

Rainey said he was not surprised that the left-handed hitting Milner went after the first pitch.

"It was a back-door slider. I wasn't taking him for granted that he would take the first one for a strike," said Rainey, who also contributed two hits and a run scored for the Cubs. "The ball was in the good part of the strike zone and he hit it."

Rainey was helped in his no-hit bid by two good fielding plays, one by himself. Alan Knicely, pinch-hitting for Mario Soto (14-10), lined one back at Rainey who scrambled off the mound and threw to first to beat the runner. In the fourth, center fielder Mel Hall made a diving catch of Duane Walker's sinking line.

Hall also doubled home two runs in the seventh inning.

The last Cubs' no-hitter was pitched by Milt Pappas on Sept. 2,

1972, in a 2-0 victory over San Diego.

**Giants 5, Phillies 3**

In San Francisco, Joel Youngblood's two-run homer with one out in the ninth inning helped the Giants beat Philadelphia's Steve Carlton, 5-3. The sweep of the three-game series extended Philadelphia's losing streak to six.

Carlton (12-13), who struck out 10 to raise his total to 3,653, walked Johnnie LeMaster on four pitches with one out in the ninth. Youngblood hit the next pitch over the fence for his 11th homer.

**Dodgers 3, Expos 2**

In Los Angeles, Ken Landreaux won the game against Montreal, 3-2, with a two-out homer in the eighth. The Dodgers have won eight in a row, their longest winning streak since 10 consecutive victories in 1980.

Landreaux's homer was his 16th of the season, a career high. He also singled twice and drove in the Dodgers' first run in the sixth inning. His homer came off the Expo relief ace Jeff Reardon (5-8).

**Astrus 10, Pirates 4**

In Pittsburgh, Mike Madden held the Pirates to one hit in six innings and had a two-run single in a five-run fifth to help Houston beat Pittsburgh, 10-4. The Pirates have lost six of their last seven.

Dickie Thon and Bill Doran each homered and Jerry Mumphrey and Phil Garner doubled twice to lead Houston's 16-hit offense. Madden (6-2) gave up two hits. He left after Dave Parker's two-run homer in the seventh inning.

**Brewers 11, Cardinals 3**

In St. Louis, Randy Johnson had three hits, drove in two runs and scored three times to help Atlanta end the Cardinals' six-game winning streak with an 11-3 victory. Every Atlanta starter except Bob Watson had at least one hit — the Braves got 15 off four pitchers — and every starter except Bruce Benedict and pitcher Phil Niekro (10-7), who won his 26th game in the majors, drove in at least one run.

**Padres 3, Mets 2**

In San Diego, Tim Lollar held New York to eight hits over 8½ innings and contributed an RBI triple in the second to give San Diego a 3-2 victory. Lollar (7-10), a

16-game winner last season, was helped by three double plays. Tom Seaver (7-12), who had a record of 33-9 against San Diego, was the loser.

**Brewers 1, Angels 0**

In the American League, at Milwaukee, Robin Yount's bases-loaded single in the 14th inning enabled the Brewers to beat California, 1-0. Jim Gantner opened with a double off Andy Hassler (0-4) and took third on a wild pitch. Paul Molitor and Charlie Moore were walked intentionally, then Yount singled up the middle.

Yount's hit scored the Brewers' first run in 22 innings and kept Milwaukee one-half game ahead of Baltimore in the East.

**Tigers 5, Rangers 2**

In Arlington, Texas, Lou Whitaker hit a three-run, inside-the-park homer with two outs in the ninth inning to give Detroit a 5-2 victory over Texas. Jack Morris (16-8), who won his eighth straight on a seven-hitter, pitched his 11th complete game in his last 16 starts. Whitaker got his 10th homer of the season when Larry Dierker fell against the right-field fence trying to catch Whitaker's fly ball.

**Indians 4, A's 0**

In Cleveland, Neal Heaton pitched a five-hitter, and Julio Franco doubled and scored in the fourth inning as the Indians won the opener of a doubleheader, 4-0. Larry Sorensen and Jamie Easterly held Oakland to seven hits in taking the second game, 4-0.

Heaton (9-4) struck out four and walked one in pitching his third complete game and second shut-out. He has won his last four starts, compiling a 1.29 ERA in 35 innings. He also has saved seven games. Tim Lincecum (6-6) pitched a five-hitter in his losing effort.

**White Sox 4, Royals 3**

In Kansas City, Missouri, Ron Kittle's grounder scored Rudy Law from third base with one out in the 10th inning to give Chicago a 4-3 victory over the Royals.

Law opened the inning with a single off Dan Quisenberry (5-3), stole his 59th base and was sacrificed to third by Carlton Fisk. Harold Baines was intentionally walked, but Kittle hit a grounder to shortstop U.L. Washington deep in the hole and beat second baseman Frank White's relay to first as Law scored.

**Twins 8, Red Sox 7**

In Minneapolis, John Castino hit a sacrifice fly in the eighth that gave Boston an 8-7 victory over Minnesota. Reliever Len Whitehouse (7-1) earned the triumph in relief, and Ron Davis got his 25th save.

**Yankees 6, Mariners 3**

In New York, Omar Moreno's three-run homer, his first in 443 at bats this season, highlighted a four-run sixth inning as New York beat Seattle, 6-3. Ron Goody (15-8) struck out nine and walked two in pitching his 15th complete game.

**Orioles 7, Yankees 4**

In Baltimore, Lenn Sakata's three-run homer with two out in the bottom of the 10th inning capped a dramatic comeback and lifted the Orioles to a 7-4 triumph over Toronto. The Orioles had scored twice in the bottom of the ninth to tie the score, 3-3.

**Line Scores**

**AMERICAN LEAGUE**

**First Game**

Cleveland 000 000 000 0 0 1  
Detroit 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Cincinnati 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Boston 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Seattle 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Houston 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Los Angeles 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Oakland 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Kansas City 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Milwaukee 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Pittsburgh 000 000 000 0 0 0  
St. Louis 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Texas 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Toronto 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Washington 000 000 000 0 0 0  
White Sox 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Yankees 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Zephyrs 000 000 000 0 0 0

**Second Game**

Cleveland 001 110 010 0 1 1  
Detroit 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Cincinnati 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Boston 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Seattle 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Houston 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Los Angeles 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Oakland 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Kansas City 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Milwaukee 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Pittsburgh 000 000 000 0 0 0  
St. Louis 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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Toronto 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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White Sox 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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**Third Game**

Cleveland 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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Toronto 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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White Sox 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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**Fourth Game**

Cleveland 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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**Fifth Game**

Cleveland 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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Cincinnati 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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Seattle 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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White Sox 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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**Sixth Game**

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Toronto 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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White Sox 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Yankees 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Zephyrs 000 000 000 0 0 0

**Seventh Game**

Cleveland 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Detroit 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Cincinnati 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Boston 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Seattle 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Houston 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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Kansas City 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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Toronto 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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Zephyrs 000 000 000 0 0 0

**Eighth Game**

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Los Angeles 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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Kansas City 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Milwaukee 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Pittsburgh 000 000 000 0 0 0  
St. Louis 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Texas 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Toronto 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Washington 000 000 000 0 0 0  
White Sox 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Yankees 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Zephyrs 000 000 000 0 0 0

**Ninth Game**

Cleveland 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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Cincinnati 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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Seattle 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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Los Angeles 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Oakland 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Kansas City 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Milwaukee 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Pittsburgh 000 000 000 0 0 0  
St. Louis 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Texas 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Toronto 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Washington 000 000 000 0 0 0  
White Sox 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Yankees 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Zephyrs 000 000 000 0 0 0

**Tenth Game**

Cleveland 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Detroit 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Cincinnati 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Boston 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Seattle 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Houston 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Los Angeles 000 000 000 0 0 0  
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Yankees 000 000 000 0 0 0  
Zephyrs 000 000 000 0 0 0



Fred Lynn of the Angels was tagged out by the Brewers' catcher, Ted Simmons, when he tried to score in the ninth on a single by Daryl Scotters. The Brewers won in the 14th, 1-0.

## Season Ticket Sales Lagging in NFL; Some Say Fans Still Angry Over Strike

By Paul Atner

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — In Kansas City, Dave Smith's phone has been ringing frequently during the last few months. "I'm getting calls from NFL teams, wanting to know what we are doing to sell tickets," said Smith, the Chiefs' director of marketing.

In Anaheim, California, the Rams are running newspaper ads promoting tickets while hoping that a new coach, John Robinson, will give them an edge in their battle for National Football League fans with the Los Angeles-based Raiders.

In Baltimore, the Colts have kept their ticket office open during some preseason games, hoping the team's

improved play will encourage fans to go for readily available season tickets.

In Cleveland, the Browns loaded the offseason with free clinics for youths and coaches, trying to rebuild goodwill — and ticket sales — that was hurt by the 1982 players' strike.

Across the league, the image of the NFL as the toughest ticket in sports is fading. The Redskins' stadium in Washington (a string of sellouts, a long waiting list for season tickets) is the exception. In almost any other league city, you can walk up to the gate and purchase a seat on game day.

"Our people should be concerned about the ticket situation in the league," said Smith, one of the NFL's few marketing specialists.

"You look at those [NFL Players Association] all-star games last fall. They had 2,000 people and there was no sound. As important as television is, you've got to have fans. Without excitement generated by fans in the stands, the game's not the same."

Certainly, many NFL teams are dusting off publicity and marketing ideas that, for years, have not been needed. For the most part, if a club was reasonably successful, ticket sales took care of themselves. The glamor and special appeal of pro football lured the fans.

That appeal still may exist. There is no question that, for the most part, franchises are healthy and their fans loyal.

But after the 57-day strike, a string of drug stories and some rough economic times, the NFL is anxious this season to see if ticket buyers will return with the record-setting gusto of past years.

"We think there still is an attitude by the fan that says, a pot on both your houses because of the strike," said Kevin Byrne, who headed the Browns' offseason sales push that concentrated on getting players into the community. "A lot of people just didn't have much sympathy for \$100,000 athletes or for the people who pay them. We spent a lot of time trying to change that attitude."

Cleveland sold 44,000 season tickets, a 2,000 drop from 1982. Although working from a healthy base, the Browns still are trying to fill an 80,322-seat stadium, third largest in the league.

"The problem with any team in a large stadium is the fan knows he shouldn't have any trouble buying a ticket the week of a game," Byrne said.

St. Louis likewise has a decent base (36,000) but even with a winning record and playoff team last season, the Cardinals are facing a 4,000 drop in season ticket sales.

Team officials can point to only one reason: fan fallout from the strike.

At least four clubs — Buffalo, Baltimore, Kansas City and New England — have big season ticket problems. All have fallen below the 50,000 mark, with Buffalo and Baltimore barely above 20,000 each.

Kansas City closed the 1982 season with only 11,902 customers in Arrowhead Stadium (capacity: 78,067). The Chiefs hired a new coach, John Mackovic, who is jacking up the offense. And Smith, the marketing man, forged ahead.

Unlike the Chiefs, the Rams lie within a huge market. But now they have to share it with the Raiders. Despite a belated start selling 1983 tickets because of an extensive front-office turnover, the Rams are spending \$200,000 for season ticket promotion (a franchise first) and \$16,000 for radio and television advertising, twice the 1982 expenditure. They sent brochures, with Robinson featured prominently, to 146,000 families with incomes of \$25,000 or more. Still, season ticket sales have dropped from 60,000 in 1981 to about 49,000 this year.

The Raiders, accustomed to sellouts in Oakland, have sold only about 40,000 season tickets.



Astrid Strauss — after her gold-medal performance.

## Geweniger Sets World Mark In 100-Meter Breaststroke

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ROME — Ute Geweniger of East Germany set a world record of 1 minute, 8.51 seconds in the women's 100-meter breaststroke Thursday at the European Swimming Championships, breaking the record she set two years ago.

Geweniger's time in the finals was slightly ahead of the world record of 1:08.60, which she set in the 1981 European Swimming Championship in Split, Yugoslavia.

Geweniger beat her teammate Sylvia Gerasch, who came in second with a time of 1:09.62 and Tania Bogomilova of Bulgaria, who was third in 1:10.77.

It was the latest in a string of successes for East German women here. Earlier Thursday, Ines Geissler won the women's 100-meter butterfly, defeating her teammate Cornelia Polit.

Wednesday's three winners were:

• Astrid Strauss, 14, in the 400-meter freestyle. She broke her European record of 4:08.25 by out-kicking her teammate Anke Sommerbrodt, 16, in the final 50 meters to win in 4:08.07, just shy of Tiffany Cohen's 1983 world's best of 4:08.05.

• Ina Kleber, 18, in the 100-meter backstroke. Kleber edged teammate Cornelia Polit in 1:01.79, just off her world's best time of 1:01.32.

• The 400-meter freestyle relay team of Kristin Otto, Susan Link, Sirch and Birgit Meinelke in 3:44.72, two seconds off the world's record.

**Major League Standings**

**NATIONAL LEAGUE**

**East**

Philadelphia 61 40 .612  
Pittsburgh 61 41 .600  
Los Angeles 61 42 .590  
Toronto 61 43 .580  
Chicago 61 44 .570  
New York 61 45 .560

**West**

Astoria 72 51 .585  
Los Angeles 72 52 .575  
Houston 69 53 .565  
San Diego 69 54 .555  
San Francisco 69 55 .545  
Cincinnati 69 56 .535

**AMERICAN LEAGUE**

**East**

Milwaukee 72 51 .585  
Boston 72 52 .575  
Detroit 69 53 .565  
Cleveland 69 54 .555  
New York 69 55 .545  
Chicago 69 56 .535  
Toronto 69 57 .525  
Los Angeles 69 58 .515  
San Francisco 69 59 .505  
Seattle 69 60 .495

**Transition**

**BASEBALL**

**AMERICAN LEAGUE**

NEW YORK — Announced that Rudy May, pitcher, will report to Columbus of the International League on a 25-day rehabilitation program.

SEATTLE — Re-called Gene Nelson, pitcher, from Salt Lake of the Pacific Coast League.

TEXAS — Picked Orel Hershiser, pitcher, on the 21-day disabled list and called up Dave Taber, pitcher, from Oklahoma City of the American Association.

**NATIONAL LEAGUE**

ATLANTA — Activated Dennis Moore, pitcher, from the 21-day disabled list. Sent Terry Lott, pitcher, to Richmond of the International League.

**BASKETBALL**

MILWAUKEE — Re-called Steve Nisley, forward, from the 21-day disabled list. Sent Terry Lott, pitcher, to Richmond of the International League.



